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Presente G. W. Harcourt of Nune ham, Esquire, m. P.

August,

THE

## HARCOURT PAPERS.

EDITED BY

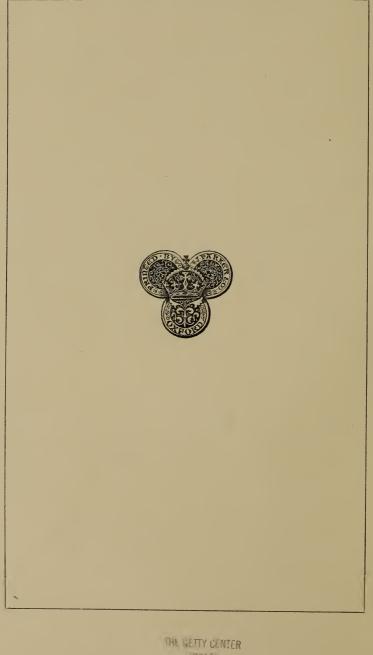
### EDWARD WILLIAM HARCOURT,

OF STANTON HARCOURT, AND NUNEHAM COURTENAY, IN THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, ESQUIRE.

VOL. IL

Printed for Private Circulation by JAMES PARKER AND CO., OXFORD.

[Only Fifty Copies printed.]



#### PREFACE.

IF public opinion had been challenged by the publication of these Papers, no one is more aware than the Editor of the just criticism to which they might have been subjected, both in respect to their prolixity and to the trifling details which they contain.

It is very possible that, in his desire to conserve, the Editor has gone beyond his mark, and has passed much unworthy matter through the Press.

Better so, however, than that anything of interest should be lost; and the Editor does not feel that he owes any apology to the reader, who holds a complete remedy in his own hands.



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## MEMOIR

OF

# LORD CHANCELLOR HARCOURT.



## The Harcourt Papers.

SIMON HARCOURT was the only son of Sir Philip Harcourt, by Anne, daughter of Sir William Waller and of Lady Anne Finch. He was born at Stanton Harcourt in 1660, the year of the restoration of Charles the Second; he was educated privately, and sent at the age of fifteen to Pembroke College, Oxford.

The choice of the college was probably determined by the recommendation of Edmund Hall, who belonged to that foundation, and was a great friend of Sir Philip Harcourt's. Hall preached a funeral sermon, and made a funeral oration over the grave of Anne, Lady Harcourt (Simon Harcourt's mother), who was buried at Stanton Harcourt in August, 1664. The sermon and oration were printed amongst Hall's works.

Whilst at Oxford, Simon Harcourt devoted himself diligently to Classical studies.

The registers of Oxford, however, afford no evidence of his having graduated there; and the only notice given of him in the University books, is, that in 1702, when attending Queen Anne to Oxford as Solicitor-General, he was re-admitted of Christ Church, and created a D.C.L., being described as *Nuper Coll. Pembrok*.

He was aware of the difficulty his father found in defraying his expenses at the University; and after residing a short time at Oxford, he removed to the Inner Temple, where he applied himself assiduously to the study of Law.

We read in the "Nonconformist Memorial," vol. ii. p. 11:—

"Godshill (in the Isle of Wight), Vicar, Mr. Thomas Clark. He was one of the ministers that preached the lecture at Newport. Soon after he was ejected his wife died, and left him only one daughter, who was entertained in the families where he was chaplain. He lived in that capacity with Sir Anthony Irby ten years. Upon his there becoming acquainted with Sir Philip Harcourt,

Lady a Irby's nephew, who came often to visit her, he was so extremely pleased with Mr. Clark's conversation, that with great importunity he prevailed with him to leave Sir Anthony and live with him. He then (in 1675) carried his daughter down with him to Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire; and soon after he came hither, Sir Philip's only son, Simon Harcourt, Esq. (afterwards Lord Harcourt), clandestinely married her: after which Mr. Clark removed out of the family, and went to Portsmouth, where he spent the remainder of his days."

Simon Harcourt was at this time barely twenty years of age. The alliance could not long be concealed; and on its discovery, he left Stanton Harcourt, never to return to it as a permanent residence.

He settled himself at Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire, where his eldest son was born in 1681 b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> She was daughter of the fourth Lord Paget, and sister of Sir Philip's mother.

b The parish register at Chipping-Norton shews the following entries, "Baptized 1681, Philip, son of Simon Harcourt, Esq.: Baptized Jan. 1683, Anne, daughter of Simon Harcourt, Esq.: Baptized Oct. 9, 1684, Simon, son of Simon Harcourt, Esq.: Baptized Oct. 1, 1685, Arabella, daughter of Simon Harcourt, Esq.: Baptized Sept. 23, 1686, Walter, son of Simon Harcourt,

In the year 1688 Sir Philip died. His son, Simon, on succeeding to the paternal estates, found them curtailed to the verge of ruin. His great-grandfather had dissipated a vast property in chimerical pursuits; his grandfather had fallen in battle, fighting against the armies of the Parliament, almost the first victim to the civil wars; and his father, declining to recognise the authority of Cromwell, had suffered the loss of almost all his possessions.

The restoration of Charles the Second had brought no benefit to Sir Philip, and he remained amongst those whose self-sacrifice at the shrine of loyalty was left to seek such consolation as may be found in a clear conscience. In addition to all this, Sir Philip had given his family-mansion and its furniture in dower to his second wife for her life. Simon, therefore, found himself in the position of having to commence life for him-

Esq.: Buried Jan. 17, 1683, Philip, son of Simon Harcourt, Esq.: Buried May 16, 1687, Rebeco (sic), the wife of Simon Harcot (sic), Esq."

self; and he bravely set to work to face his difficulties.

He was at this time twenty-eight years of age; a widower, with a family of young children. His disposition was, however, sanguine and courageous, and his comely presence and genial manners, combined with his very great natural gifts, secured his success in life. His rise in his profession was rapid. His first piece of preferment was the Recordership of Abingdon c.

<sup>e</sup> In the year 1695, a little-known office was conferred upon him by Lord Abingdon. The deed of appointment is here inserted as a matter of curiosity. It is headed, "A warr<sup>t</sup> to Empower Simon Harcourt Esq., to be Clerke of the Iter to my Lord Abingdon, Cheife Justice in Eyre on the South side Trent.

"James Lord Norreys, Baron of Rycott, Earle of Abingdon, Cheife Justice & Justice in Eyre of all his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Forrests, Parks, & Warrens on the South side Trent.

"To all to whome these presents shall come greeting,-

"Whereas his sacred Maty King William the third by his Letters patents under the great seale of England, bearing date att Westminster on the nine and twentieth day of Novemb. 1693, in the fifth yeare of their Mats Reigne, hath given and granted unto mee, James, Earle of Abingdon, the office of Cheife Justice, and Justice Itinerant of all his Mats Forrests, Chaces, Parkes, and Warrens, on the south side of Trent, and Keeper of the Beasts of all the said Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, together with all Fees, Regards, Profitts, Comoditys, Priviledges, Jurisdictions, Authoritys, Preheminences, Advantages, and Emoluments, due, accustomed,

Simon Harcourt was deeply imbued with the politics of his ancestors, and he looked with little favour upon what he called the "usurpation of the Dutch Stadtholder." He was, however, also fully alive to the follies of James the Second, and perceived that it would be useless to endeavour to stem the

or belonging, or before that time with the said office had, used or employed, with power to hear and determine all causes of Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, and to ordeine, make & constitute all manner of offices in the aforesaid Forrests, Chases, Parks, and warrens, to the said office of Cheife Justice & Justice Itinerant belonging or in anywise appertaining, in as large and ample manner and forme, as any other person or persons heretofore having or enjoying ye said office of right, have used or perceived the same, to have, hold & exercise the said offices by myselfe or by my sufficient deputy or deputies, (during their Mats pleasure) as in, and by, the said letters patents more fully amongst other things, it doth, and may appeare. Know ye, therefore, that the said Earle of Abingdon reposing especiall trust & confidence in Simon Harcourt, Esq., have made, constituted, and appointed, & by these presents do make, constitute, and appoint the said Simon Harcourt, Esq., Clerke of the Iter of all and every of the said Forrests. Chaces, Parks, and warrens, on this side Trent. Southward to have & hold, exercise and enjoy ye said office of Clerke of the Iter to ye said Simon Harcourt, Esq., by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies, together wth all & singular the Fees, proffitts, Comodities, & Priviledges, to the said office belonging, or with the same heretofore used or enjoyed (during my will and pleasure). Given under my hand and seal this twenty-ninth day of October, in the seventh yeare of ye Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King William the third, anno dom. 1695.

"ABINGDON."

torrent of disgust which those follies had let loose.

With these views he declined a seat in the Convention Parliament, which sat without any royal summons; but when the reaction set in, he offered himself as a candidate for Abingdon, and was returned as member for that borough. His maiden speech was made on the 9th of April, 1690, when he was barely thirty years of age.

The question related to recognising the new king; his words, as given by the reports of Parliament, were these:—

"I have ever thought the monarchy hereditary; and, by this, what becomes of your entail? I am not satisfied that the acts of the Convention of 1660 were binding, till confirmed by a Parliament summoned by a lawful king."

On the 26th of April, in the same year, Simon Harcourt opposed the Abjuration Bill, in these words:—

"You have already the oath of allegiance; and if that is equivocated, what security have you

in an oath of abjuration? I often hear that we have a powerful enemy abroad, and that there is necessity to unite at home. This will endanger fomenting and increasing jealousies. I will discharge my conscience, however I may be mistaken. Such an unprecedented oath will give occasion to think there is some radical defect in the Government, which is to be so supported by such extraordinary expedients. You will gain no ground by it; you will make enemies. I hope there will be no reflection upon me as against the Government because I am against this Bill."

It is a matter of history that the Bill was passed.

On the 28th of April, still in the same year, Simon Harcourt spoke against the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, as follows:—

"As we are sent here to preserve the liberties of England, so there is no greater security for them than this Act; and I think I have acquitted my trust very ill if I give it up. You struggled many years for it: you obtained it in times which we are taught to look back upon as oppressive; and we are now to be deprived of it. Suspending it thus, on every frivolous pretence, amounts to a repeal. At this particular time, now we have

an army of foreigners in our bowels, we should rather increase our liberties than diminish them."

In 1696, Simon Harcourt refused to sign the voluntary association for the defence of King William's person. How it was that he escaped the vengeance of Lord Chancellor Somers on the occasion, does not very clearly appear.

We next find him opposing the Bill for the attainder of Sir John Fenwick, in the following speech:—

"This general charge of treason seems a great hardship. There is nothing by which so many have been unjustly taken off, as such vague allegations in indictments; and the grievance was justly considered so great, that in your Bill lately passed for regulating trials for high treason, you have provided that the overt acts shall be specifically laid, with time, place, and circumstances. This is a Bill to deprive an individual of the benefit of a general law, which you will allow to be necessary for the protection of innocence. This is called a trial, and we are said to be the judges. I know no trial for treason but what is confirmed by MAGNA CHARTA—per judicium

parium, by a jury, which is every Englishman's birthright, and is always esteemed one of our darling privileges; but if it be a trial, it is a pretty strange one, where the person who stands upon his trial hath a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved.

"I cannot tell under what character to consider ourselves, whether we are judges or jurymen: I never before heard of a judge, I am sure, nor of a juryman, but he was always upon oath: I never heard of a judge but had power to save the innocent as well as condemn the guilty. Have we this power? If you were satisfied of the innocence of the accused, you must remand him to Newgate to be subject to another trial, if his prosecutors so please.

"Again, if I am a judge in this case, ought I not to be governed by the rules of evidence which are the rules of law; and the very foundation of the Bill is that by the rules of evidence and of law he cannot be lawfully convicted. It is said we have a discretion; but my Lord Chief Justice Coke says, 'a judge's discretion is discernere per legem;' and on another occasion, that 'a judge is to be guided by the straight line of law, and not by the crooked cord of discretion.' The practice of Westminster Hall is talked of with some disdain, as if there they only look for reason in what is the rule: but let me tell you,

there the rule is laid down because it is reason—reason approved by long experience; and therefore it is a rule.

"To tell me the Government is in danger, and that the fate of England and of Europe depends upon this Bill, is certainly rather offered to amuse than to convince. Although I have no acquaintance of Sir John Fenwick, from the account I receive of him he cannot, from his capacity, be very formidable to any government. At any rate he is your prisoner, and you have the power of detaining him as long as you please in close custody. God forbid we should live under a government which cannot subsist without taking away the life of an unfortunate gentleman contrary to the rules of law! You say you are of opinion he is guilty, and that is enough. If the opinion of those who condemn will justify the condemnation, let us no longer call the verdicts against Cornish, Sydney, and Russell, murders by a perversion of the rules of law in violation of the principles of justice."

In the year 1701, Simon Harcourt took a prominent part in the impeachment of Lord Somers for the "partition treaties," as they were called, which made England a party to the transference of important Spanish possessions to the French Crown.

It was a curious example of the inconsistency of the times, that Somers, who had drawn up the "Declaration of Rights," and was a chief organizer of the Revolution, should allow himself to become a passive instrument of the King (whom that Revolution had introduced) for performing an act, which, as apart from its policy, was clearly unconstitutional. To Simon Harcourt's management of the impeachment its success in the Commons appears to have been mainly due. The extremities, however, to which the lower house seemed prepared to proceed, had the effect of rendering the Upper House cautious, and the impeachment was ultimately dropped.

In "Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," published 1798, the following reference is made to this trial:—

"Walpole's high veneration for the character of Somers, and his zealous attachment to his party, naturally induced him to oppose the motion for his impeachment. Being young and inexperienced at that period, he gave only a silent vote; but he made a judicious remark, which proved his sagacity. It was, that the zeal of the warmest friends is oftentimes more hurtful to the person whose cause they espouse, than the bitterest accusations of the most inveterate opponents.

"The defence spoken by Somers in the House of Commons was so able and perspicuous, and made so deep an impression, as induced Walpole to be of opinion that if the question had been immediately put, the prosecution would have been withdrawn. But the accusers of Lord Somers, foreseeing this event, made such inconsistent observations, and used such intemperate expressions, as provoked his friends to reply.

"According to the account of this debate given by Walpole, Harcourt began with extremely fallacious, but as plausible remarks as the subject could admit. Cowper's indignation moved him to reply, which occasioned the prolongation of the debate; at the end of which, what had been significantly and fully urged by Somers, was in a great measure forgotten."

The death of James the Second, which was followed immediately by the proclamation of his son by Louis XIV., and by threats of a French invasion, brought the party to which Simon Harcourt belonged

into great disfavour, and for the moment arrested his advancement; but the death of William III., and the accession of Anne, gave another turn to the wheel; and on the 2nd of June, 1702, Simon Harcourt was made Solicitor-General in succession to Sir John Hawles, and knighted. In August of the same year he accompanied Queen Anne to Oxford; he was made a Doctor of Civil Laws on the 27th of that month, and received an ovation of applause on the occasion.

In Queen Anne's first Parliament there is little doubt that Sir Simon had the Great Seal within his reach, had it been prudent for him to stretch out his hand for it; but his fortunes were not sufficiently secured to make him independent of his profession, or to enable him to exchange the certainty of his practice for the uncertainty of office.

He continued Solicitor-General for five years, under Marlborough and Godolphin.

In the year 1702, we find Simon Harcourt supporting the Bill in Parliament against occasional conformity: he said,—

"If a national Church be necessary, which the Lords did not venture to deny, the only effectual way to preserve it is by keeping the civil power in the hands of those whose practice and principles are conformable to it."

In 1703, the celebrated Daniel de Foe issued a pamphlet, called "The shortest way with the Dissenters." The object of the publication was to bring into ridicule the extreme views of the most advanced High Churchmen, and with such exquisite talent and humour was the subject handled, that both sides were at first deceived; of course, both parties were equally enraged when the veil was removed.

"'Tis in vain," said De Foe, "to trifle with this matter. We can never enjoy a settled, uninterrupted union in this nation, till the spirit of Whiggism, faction, and schism, is melted down like the old money. Here is the opportunity to secure the Church, and to destroy her enemies. I do not prescribe fire and faggot, but, 'delenda est Carthago.' They are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace and serve God. The light foolish handling of them by fines is

their glory and advantage. If the *gallows* instead of the *compter*, and the *galleys* instead of the *fines*, were the reward of going to a conventicle, there would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of martyrdom is over. They that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, will go to forty churches rather than be hanged."

A prosecution was ordered, and the law officers of the Crown were the instruments. De Foe was tried at the Old Bailey, having given himself up to rescue his printer and publisher from jail.

The difficulty in the case was to prove publication; it is said that promises were held out to induce the Author to make admissions of Authorship, and that these promises were forgotten when they had served their purpose. If this were true, it is certain that Sir Simon's straightforward character cleared him from suspicion of complicity in the fraud. At best, the job must have been a disagreeable one.

The sentence passed upon De Foe was that he should

"pay a fine of 200 marks, be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure, stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years."

This harsh sentence had no power to quench De Foe's fire, and "Robinson Crusoe," and the "Plague of London," stand as a lasting rebuke upon his persecutors.

When the prisoner was placed in the pillory, the mob pelted him with rose leaves, and hung garlands about the instrument of torture. An effusion which the spirited and persecuted wit had composed, entitled "A Hymn to the Pillory," was published and sold by thousands, and the Government took little by their proceedings.

The trial of Tutchin for libel in 1704 was the next great law-case in which we find Sir Simon engaged; but, by his advice, the prosecution was dropped. At a later period Tutchin was guilty of another libel, for which he was lynched by the people.

In the year 1705 a general election occurred, which placed the Whigs in a majority. Sir Simon Harcourt was again elected for Abingdon; but Mr. John Hucks, the Whig candidate, whom he had beaten by a large majority, presented a petition against his return. Sir Simon, according to the custom which then prevailed, argued his own case at the bar of the House of Commons; he spoke thus:—

"Whatever the determination of this House may be, I know, and all impartial men will believe, that I am entitled to sit as a representative for Abingdon in this parliament. The just construction of the Charter, as it has been understood and acted upon for 150 years, deprives my competitor of a shadow of a right; and, even upon his construction of it, I have still a majority of votes. He himself, at the close of the poll, declared that he had not offered himself with any hope of success; and it was not till he had seen that his party had fared better in other places, that he thought of petitioning.

"But what a mean and contemptible notion must be entertain of this House. He must suppose that you are to be awed by the word of command which he thinks may be given to expel me, and to substitute himself in my place against the will of the electors, and after his own confession that he was fairly defeated. If it should indeed be declared that I am not duly elected, I shall leave this House, feeling deep compassion for the unfortunate friends who stay behind me, for they must be destined to make a constant but ineffectual struggle against fraud and folly.

"Whoever suggested this petition, believing there is such a parliament, must be the most abandoned wretch in the world, who has long quitted all notions of right and wrong, all sense of truth and justice, all regard for honour and conscience. But I trust it will be found he makes a most calumnious estimate of a British House of Commons.

"The Petition charges me personally with many indirect practices; but not an attempt has been made to prove any part of these charges, and all who know me, know they must be false. As to the indirect practices of my agents—I had no agents. Till the morning of the election I knew of no opposition, and I had made no preparation for a contest. I had every reason to believe that my former services in six parliaments had met with the approbation of the great bulk of my constituents, and that they were willing again to confide to me the high trust of representing them. The electors of Abingdon were not influenced by the solicitations, menaces, and promises used

against me; and I trust their example will be imitated by the members of this House, who are expected to be patterns of purity, independence, and honour."

Sir Simon was unseated by a party vote.

He was afterwards elected for Bossiney, and we find him, on the question of privilege concerning the Aylesbury election, arguing in the House of Commons against actions brought in violation of the privileges of both Houses. His words were as follow:—

"Principiis obsta; never let your disease grow to such a head as to put on you the necessity of complaining of a judgment of the Lords, but rather check it in its infancy. If an action should be brought against the Speaker or the Serjeant-at-arms for obeying your commands, ought we to sit still here to see what they will do in the Courts below, and afterwards wait for the event in the House of Lords by writ of error? The law of parliament is above the judges of the Common Law; it is alieni fori. If you will induce any person to go into Westminster Hall and to bring an action to question your rights, a jury may find a verdict that you have no such rights, and judgment shall be given accordingly. Does

not this submit your proceedings to the examination and censure of inferior Courts, and may it not soon confine you to such privileges as the other House of Parliament may be pleased to accord to you?"

On the 5th day of April, 1706, Sir Simon Harcourt was made a Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Oxford, and the parchment appointing him to that office, signed by the Duke of Marlborough, is preserved at Nuneham <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> As the fact of John Duke of Marlborough's having been Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire has been doubted, I give the document in extenso:—

"John Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Baron Churchill of Aymouth and Sandridge, one of her Ma<sup>tics</sup> most hon<sup>ble</sup> privy Councill, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Master Generall of the Ordnance, Captaine Generall of her Ma<sup>tics</sup> Land fforces, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Oxon, and Lord high Steward of Woodstock &ca. To Sir Simon Harcourt Kn<sup>t</sup> Greeting:—

"Whereas the Queen's most Excellent Matie according to an act of Parliament for ordering the fforces in the severall Countys of this Kingdome, hath by Commission under the great Seale of England nominated and appointed me her Lieutenant for and in the said County of Oxon, and for and in the Cittys, Burroughs, Corporated and Priviledg'd places, and other places whatsoever, within the same County and the libertyes and precincts thereof, to exercise and performe all and every thing and things which to such lieutenants any ways belongs to be done, acted or performed by fforce of the same Act, and, whereas, by the said Act of Parliament, the said respective Lieutenants have power and

At this time he also acted as Chairman of the Oxfordshire Quarter Sessions. He appears occasionally to have introduced politics into his charges to the grand jury. We find, for instance, the following note:—

"How much happier are we, gentlemen, than our neighbours, who groan under insupportable miseries even to the last degree of slavery, while we live in ease and hospitality, and eat the fruit of our own vine.

"As, gentlemen, we are blessed with such good laws, so we are under the most auspicious reign

authority to present to her Matie the names of such persons as they shall think fitt to be Deputy Lieutenants, and, upon her Maties approbation, to give them deputations accordingly, By Virtue of the Act of Parliament and Commission aforesaid, by and with her Maties approbation, I doe hereby nominate, appoint, constitute and depute you, the said Sir Simon Harcourt, to be one of my deputy Lieutenants for and in the said County of Oxon, and for and in the Cittyes, Burroughs, Libertyes, Corporated and Priviledged places, and other places whatsoever within the same County, and the liberties and precincts thereof, to Act, doe, execute and performe the aforesaid office of deputy Lieutenant, to the intent that you and such number of you soe by me deputed, as by the said Act of Parliament is in that behalfe directed, shall and may execute and perform all and every the Powers and Authorityes contained in the said Act of Parliament, which by the deputy Lieutenants, by vertue of the said Act, may or ought to be executed and performed, according to the true intent and meaning of the same. Given under my hand and seale, this fifth day of Aprill-1706, In the Fifth year of her Matie Reigne

"MARLBOROUGH."

of the best of Queens (whom God long preserve!)
—a Queen who will impartially put them in execution,—a Queen who is a zealous professor of the religion of the Church of England as established by law, and will always be a promoter of its honour and interest, and a Queen who wishes from the very bottom of her breast there were no separatists from it in her kingdom."

On the 25th of April, 1707, Sir Simon Harcourt was made Attorney-General, and he framed and passed through Parliament the Bill for the Union with Scotland: Burnet says of it:—

"It passed through the House of Commons before those who intended to oppose it had recovered themselves out of the surprise under which the form it was drawn in had put them."

His speeches in Parliament at this time appear to have been lost, as was often the case in those days of imperfect reporting.

On the 12th of February, 1708, Simon Harcourt performed the unprecedented act of resigning the Attorney-Generalship; he found that the administration was become

uncongenial to his views, and retired from it, along with Harley and St. John.

In the year 1709, Sir Simon was retained as Counsel for Dr. Sacheverell.

This celebrated trial was instituted by the Whigs, in consequence of a sermon preached by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark; it was preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 5th of November, 1709, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London. Sacheverell's text was taken from 2 Cor. xi. 26, "In perils among false brethren;" and he was supposed to have therein levelled, implied, if not direct censures against the late Revolution, which he was known to have detested.

It is always difficult to enter into the feelings which have actuated persons who lived under conditions totally different to our own. This difficulty often leads to a misapprehension of history; and certainly, on the surface, nothing can appear more

incommensurate than the weak effusions of Sacheverell, to the importance with which they were artificially invested.

It has to be considered, however, that this was a period at which the dampest fuel burnt with inflammable celerity; and it needed not the clever satires of Daniel de Foe to lash the public mind into a ferment. The flame that burns the fiercest is generally the soonest exhausted; and doubtless Sacheverell's rocket would soon have come down like a stick, if it had not been unadvisedly revivified by a public prosecution; the result of which was, not merely to raise the Doctor into popularity, but to exhibit to the Queen the weak hold which his prosecutors had upon public favour,—a knowledge which she did not fail speedily to utilise.

In the meantime, the trial had had the effect of exhibiting an accordance, or perhaps rather a compromise, in the views of Whigs and Tories, respecting the principles of the late Revolution; and a modified doctrine of

resistance, together with a general doctrine of toleration, were thenceforth received as a common basis of action by both sides.

To Sir Simon Harcourt was allotted the chief and most difficult part of the defence, namely, to acquit the defendant of having condemned the Revolution and the lawfulness of resistance. The line he took, was to assert that justifiable resistance must always be the exception, not the rule; that there had been no constitutional resistance at the Revolution, which he speaks of with respect; that his client had understood resistance in these senses; and had fulfilled the part of a minister of the Gospel in pressing a general duty of obedience, which is clearly laid down for their guidance; whereas, the exceptional cases in which resistance becomes lawful, is nowhere laid down, and would therefore be a dangerous subject for the clergy to handle.

Again, he argued that no one could be punished for the unexpressed opinions of his heart; and, lastly, he maintained that Sach-

everell had made use of no words which were not justified both by high precedent, and also by the letter of the law itself.

I have placed in an appendix Sir Simon Harcourt's speech in extenso, as well as the remarks made upon the trial by Coxe, in his "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole;" by Hallam in his "Constitutional History of England," 1827; by Lord Mahon in his "History of England," 4th edition; and by Professor Smyth in his "Lectures on Modern History," 2nd volume; whence, those who are minded to read them, can draw their own conclusions.

Lord Campbell has remarked respecting this trial,—

"When this most preposterous and ill-fated prosecution came to a hearing in Westminster Hall, the chief part assigned to Harcourt was to answer the first article, charging the defendant with having, in his sermon at St. Paul's, traduced the Revolution, and denied the lawfulness of resistance.

"The ground of defence, taken very ably, and, I think, very satisfactorily, was that both the

Church of England and the municipal law of the country inculcate obedience to the civil magistrate, and that cases of justifiable resistance are exceptions to the rule, which are implied, and cannot possibly be anticipated or defined."

## Lord Campbell goes on to say,-

"Just as Harcourt concluded his address, it was publicly announced that he had been returned to Parliament for the Borough of Cardigan. The Whigs asserted that he was privately in possession of the intelligence while he was inveighing against the impeachment; but they did not venture to bring forward any charge against him for breach of privilege: when he took his seat in the House of Commons, he was loudly cheered by the Tories, and there were clear indications of their speedy triumph."

The feeling now ran very high against the Whigs, and changes were soon made in various quarters; on the 18th of September, Sir James Montague, who was one of the Counsel against Sacheverell, was called upon to resign the office of Attorney-General, and Sir Simon Harcourt was reinstated in his place. Boyer, in the first volume of his "Polit. State," says:—

"The custody of the Great Seal, as Lord Keeper, was now privately offered to Sir Simon Harcourt; who, besides his eminent adherence to the Church party on many other occasions, had exerted his parts, in a very distinguished manner, in the defence of Sacheverell.

"But he declined that trust for the present; and in the meantime contented himself with the place of Attorney-General, which he formerly discharged with great reputation. He appeared the first time in that quality at the Council held on the 21st of September, at which time the Earl of Rochester, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John, were sworn of that most honourable assembly."

The fact is, that Simon Harcourt would gladly have taken a little more time to recruit his fortunes in the practice of his profession; and, with this end, he elected to be made Attorney-General; Lord Cowper, however, under existing circumstances, declined to retain the Great Seal; and Sir Simon, not willing to see another put over his head, no longer refused the offers of the Government. In the meantime, whilst he was making up his mind, the Great

Seal was put into commission for three weeks,

In the papers of the Crown Office, the following notice appears:—

"19th October, 1710. The Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Grt Seal of Grt Britain having delivered the Great Seal to the Queen on Wednesday the 18th of October, 1710, her Maty was pleased to deliver the same to Sir Simon Harcourt, Knt., her Att.-Gen., on the day following at Hampton Court, with the title of Ld. Keeper of the Grt. Seal of G. B.; who on Monday the 23rd day of the same October, being the 1st time of his sitting in Westm. Hall, was accompanied to the Chancery Court by the Earl of Rochester, Ld. President of the Councill, the Duke of Ormonde, Ld. Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earls of Scarsdale, Anglesey, and Overy, the Lord Hyde, and several other persons, and in their presence did then and there take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the oath of the Ld. Keeper of the Grt. Seal of Gt. Britain, the Mar of the Rolls holding the book, and the Clerk of the Crown reading the oaths; after which the Lords departed, and left the Lord Keeper in the said Court."

It was at this time that Sir Simon's for-

mer client, Sacheverell, presented him with a handsome silver salver; this salver is still preserved at Nuneham, and is engraved with the following inscription:—

"Viro Honoratissimo, universi juris oraculo, Ecclesiæ et regni præsidio et ornamento, SIMONI HARCOURT, Equiti Aurato, Magnæ Britannæ sigilli magni custodi, et Serenissimæ Reginæ è Secretioribus Consiliis, ob causam meam coram supremo senatu, In Aulâ Westmonasteriensi, Nervosâ cum facundiâ et subactâ legum scientiâ Benignè et constanter defensam; ob priscam Ecclesiæ doctrinam, Inviolandam legum vim, Piam subditorum Fidem. Et Sacrosancta Majestatis jura Contra nefarios perduellium impetus Feliciter vindicata; Votivum hoc munusculum Perpetuæ gratitudinis pignus, D. D. D. Devinctissimus cliens

Devinctissimus cliens
HENRICUS SACHEVEREL, S.T.P.
anno salutis MDCCX."

The present was accompanied by the annexed letter, which, in common with the

greater part of the other papers and letters in this volume, forms a part of the Nuneham Manuscripts.

"My Lord,—This being the happy day when under God's providence, by your kind and generous assistance, I was delivered out of the power and malice of my inveterate enemies; I can't but reflect on the great mercie I receiv'd without the highest sense of gratitude to my great benefactour and advocate, in acknowledgement whereof I humbly beg your Lordship's acceptance of this small memorial I have presumed to send you, with all the good prayers and wishes which can proceed from an heart full of those unspeakable favours which you have been pleased to conferr on, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's ever obliged servant,
"H. SACHEVERELL."

Queen Anne, whose natural aversion to the Whigs was increased by her growing aversion to the Duchess of Marlborough, took no pains to disguise her preference for her Tory advisers. Sir Simon was welcomed to her councils with the highest expressions of regard.

He had up to this time been in the receipt

of a handsome professional income; and he had employed such parts of it as were not expended in the exercise of a large and generous hospitality, in the re-purchase of his alienated family estates.

During the year 1710, he became possessed of the estate of Nuneham Courtenay, and from time to time resided in the small manor-house which in those days existed there. On one occasion, whilst resident at Nuneham, he was summoned suddenly on business to London; and as the business was urgent, he commenced his journey on a Sunday.

The anecdote is thus recorded in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxv. p. 467:—

"I have heard that Lord Chancellor Harcourt, travelling on a Sunday through Abingdon in time of divine service, was stopped by the constables, by whom an humble apology was made to his Lordship for doing what they understood to be their duty; in consequence of which, his Lordship ordered his coach to the church door, and joined in the public worship till the conclusion of it. The anecdote does honour to his Lordship's com-

pliance, as well as to the vigilance of the officers who were guarding the observance of this day."

His visits to Nuneham, however, were only occasional. His chief place of abode was Cokethorpe, where he had built himself a house in the neighbourhood of Stanton Harcourt. The dining-room at Cokethorpe was adorned by some oak-panelling, presented to him by Queen Anne, who paid him a state visit there when it was put up.

Having been made Lord Keeper on the 18th of October, Sir Simon was on the following day made a privy councillor; we read in the London Gazette,—

"Her Majesty was pleased to deliver the Great Seal to Sir Simon Harcourt, Knt., who was thereupon sworn one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain; and he accordingly took his place at the Board.

"Hampton Court, October 19, 1710."

In this year Sir Simon was again elected member for Abingdon at the general election; but it was decided that the holder of the Great Seal, although a Commoner, was incompetent to be a representative of the people.

During the ensuing session, he consequently sat in the House of Lords, although he was not made a Peer till the year following. The inconvenience of this arrangement became evident, when it fell to the duty of the Lord Keeper to present certain Peers to the Queen; Lord Rochester maintained that Peers could only be presented by a Peer; but Lord Cowper pointed out that the Lord Keeper, Commoner though he was, took precedence of all Peers.

In his hybrid position he was called upon, on the 28th of November, 1710, to be the mouth-piece of the Lords, in conveying a vote of thanks to Lord Peterborough for his conduct of the war in Spain. Lord Keeper Harcourt's speech is recorded as follows:—

"My Lord Peterborough, I am commanded by my Lords to return their thanks to your Lords ship for your many eminent and faithful services to your Queen and country during your command in Spain.

"My Lord, the thanks of this illustrious assembly is an honour which has been rarely paid to any subject; but never, after a stricter inquiry into the nature of any service, upon a more mature deliberation, or with greater justice, than at this time to your Lordship. Such is your Lordship's known generosity, and truly noble temper, that I assure myself the present I am now offering to your Lordship is more acceptable, as it comes pure and unmixed, and is unattended with any other reward which your Lordship might justly think would be an alloy to it.

"My Lord, had more days been allowed me than I have had minutes, to call to mind the wonderful and amazing success which perpetually attended your Lordship in Spain, (the effect of your Lordship's personal bravery and conduct,) I would not attempt to enumerate your particular services, since I should offend your Lordship by the mention of such as I could recollect, and give a just occasion of offence to this House by my involuntary omission of the far greater part of them. Had your Lordship's wise councils, particularly your advice at Valencia, been pursued in the following campaign, the fatal battle of Almanza, and our greatest misfortunes which have since happened in Spain, had been pre-

vented, and the design upon Toulon might have happily succeeded. I shall detain your Lordship no longer, than, in obedience to the order I have received, to return your Lordship, as I do, the thanks of the House, for your eminent and remarkable services to your Queen and country during your command in Spain."

At this time the unpopularity of the Whigs had reached a climax, and Harley's schemes were at length successful in obtaining the dismissal of the ministry. His efforts, however, to gain Walpole were unavailing.

It is noteworthy that, seven years later, when Simon Harcourt succeeded in stopping the impeachment of Harley, he should have been brought into those relations with Walpole which ended in a close coalition. On the 29th of May, 1711, Harley, having been created Earl of Oxford, received the staff of Lord High Treasurer, and was sworn into the office.

He was accosted by the Lord Keeper as follows:—

"My Lord Oxford,—the Queen, who does everything with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof

of it in the honours she has lately conferred upon you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications.

"My Lord, the title which you now bear, could not have been so justly placed on any other of her Majesty's subjects. Some of that ancient blood which fills your veins, is derived from the Veres; and you have shewed yourself as ready to sacrifice it for your country, and as fearless of danger on the most trying occasions, as ever any of that brave and loyal house were.

"Nor is that title less suited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief seats of learning; for even your enemies, my Lord, (if any such there still are), must own that the love of letters, and the encouragement of those who excel in them, is one distinguishing part of your character.

"My Lord, the high station of Lord Treasurer of Great Britain, to which her Majesty has called you, is the just reward of your eminent services. You have been the great instrument of restoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy pressure and ignominy of an immense debt, under which it languished; and you are now entrusted with the power of securing us from a relapse into the same ill state out of which you have rescued us. This great office, my Lord, is every way worthy of you, particularly on account of those many difficulties, with which the faithful

discharge of it must be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like yours to master them. The only difficulty which even you, my Lord, may find almost insuperable, is how to deserve better of the Crown and kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it."

On the 3rd of September, 1711, Sir Simon Harcourt was advanced to the Peerage by the style and title of Baron Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in the county of Oxford.

The preamble of the patent of his creation eruns thus:—

e The original Latin is as follows:-

"Jus Regium nobis a Deo commissum nulla in re lubentius exercemus, quam cum debita Virtuti elargiamur Præmia, Virosq. tum suis, tum majorum suorum meritis insignes, omni, quo pars est, honoris genere augeamus. Hos inter elucet Prædilectus et perquam Fidelis Conciliarius noster, Simon Harcourt, Miles, Magni Sigilli nostri Custos. Longa illum decorat Proavorum Series a Normannicis usq. temporibus et peramplis Fortunis, et omni Laude Bellica florentium, quorum unus, ob rem strenue sub Edwardi Quarti vexillis gestam, periscelide Equestri donatus est; alter, contra Perduelles Hibernicos pro Carolo Regum optimo fortiter dimicans, Anglorum primus occubuit; Nec in ea Gente quisquam repertus est, cujus non esset spectata semper erga Patriam Charitas, erga Principem Fides: His ille ortus Majoribus, Rei quidem Familiaris hæreditatem Furore Civili imminutam, Gloriæ integram accepit: Quam Virtute Militari partam, Ingenii sui, et Eloquentiæ vi auxit togatus. Ita enim variam, illi multiplicemque esse dicendi facultatem intelleximus, ut, an tractandis pro Tribunali causis, an habendis ad Senatum Concionibus, aptior accederet, dubitent multi, uno ore omnes fateantur, eum et Juris"There is nothing wherein we more willingly exercise that Royal authority which God has entrusted us with, than by rewarding true merit and virtue, and advancing to all suitable dignity men who have merited such of us, and whose ancestors have been remarkably famous in their generation; among these, there is none more con-

consultorum disertissimum esse, et Disertorum jurisconsultissimum. Suæ hoc oratoriæ Laudi domesticas adjunxit Virtutes, Magnanimitatem et Fidem: Quarum Robore suffultus, in tuendo quod susceperat officio, contemnendisque periculis, constanter perseveravit: et Amicitiæ jura, sive in rebus secundis, sive in adversis, sancte coluit. Quem itaque tantis animi dotibus instructum, sibi Clientium nemo non exoptavit Patronum, eum nos Negotiis nostris, Forumque spectant haud temere admovimus Procuratorem; cum ad Attornati nostri munus, quod cum dignitate, quoad licuit, semel sustinuerat, altera vice accersivimus; eum tandem cum magno illius Ingenio minora esse hæc omnia sentiremus, in ipso Forensius Honorum apice collocavimus, æqui, bonique Cognitorem et Interpretem summum. Pergit de nobis, ac de bonis omnibus præclarius adhuc mereri; et hanc ipsam Provinciam, cæteris, quas gessit, quanto splendidior est, tanto impensius ornare: Litium multitudinem indies minuit, Judiciorum moras reserat, et, ut petitorum cuique constet quam minimo honestæ contentionis felix exitus, egregie cavet. Quæ quidem cum nobis summopere sint grata, ipsi honorifica, Reique Publicæ salutaria, Præmiis uberioribus remuneranda censemus. Ne itaque in amplissimorum Judicum Consessu suffragii expers sit Justitiæ Vindex integerrimus, ne in Eloquentium concilio sit elinguis, sentiendi, dicendique Author gravissimus, Procerum ordini continuo adscribatur, eidemque splendoris non nihil afferat, a quo, multum et ipse, et ipsius posteri haurient. Ouæ autem Harcourtiano Nomine ac Patrimonio Sexcentos jam annos amplius inclarescit sedes, eadem, titulo etiam quem nunc impertimus, honestetur, in omne ævum (si annuerit Deus) duraturo. Sciatis, &c."

spicuous than our well-beloved and very faithful Counsellor, Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, Keeper of our Great Seal, a gentleman recommended to us by a long descent of progenitors of very ample fortunes, and renowned for their warlike actions ever since the Norman times; one of whom, for his bravery signalized under the standard of Edward IV., was made Knight of the Garter; another, fighting courageously against the Irish rebels, in the cause of his Royal master King Charles, the best of Princes, who was the first Englishman that fell a sacrifice to their fury.

"Nor is there one of all that race, descended from such noble ancestors, who has not been eminent for his love of his country, and loyalty to his Prince. He suffered indeed in his paternal inheritance, which was diminished by the fury of the civil wars; but not in his glory, which being acquired by the military valour of his ancestors, he, as a lawyer, has advanced by the force of his wit and eloquence; for we have understood that his faculty in speaking is so full of variety, that many doubt whether he is fitter to manage causes in the lower court, or to speak before a full Parliament; but it is unanimously confessed by all, that among the Lawyers he is the most eloquent orator, and among the orators the most able lawver.

"To this praise of his eloquence he has added

those domestic virtues, magnanimity and fidelity, supported by which, he has resolutely persevered in maintaining the cause he had undertaken, and in despising danger; and has kept the engagement of friendship, whether in prosperity or adversity, sacred and inviolable; whom therefore, furnished with such great endowments of mind, all clients have wished to defend their causes, not without reason we preferred to be one of our counsel at law, whom we a second time called to be our Attorney-General, which office he had once before sustained with honour, as far as it was thought convenient; whom lastly, since we perceived that all these things were inferior to the largeness of his capacity, we have advanced to the highest pitch of forensical dignity, and made him supreme judge in our court of equity.

"He still continues to deserve higher of us, and of all good men; and is so much a brighter ornament to his province, as it is more honorable than the rest he has gone through. He daily despatches the multitude of suits in chancery, he removes the obstacles which delay judgment in that court, and takes special care that the successful issue of an honest cause should cost every plaintiff as little as may be. Which things, as they are very grateful to us, honorable to himself, and beneficial to the Commonwealth, we think them deserving of higher reward.

"Therefore, that the most upright asserter of justice may not be without a vote in the most supreme court, that he who can think and speak so excellently well should not be silent in an assembly of the eloquent, we grant him a place among the Peers, that he may add some splendor to that order from which he and his posterity will derive so much; and we desire that the place which is known at this time, and has borne for above 600 years the name, and been the patrimony of the family Harcourt, be honored by that title which we now confer, and will continue, if God permit, from generation to generation.—Now know ye," &c.

On the 7th of April of the year 1713, the London Gazette contained the following paragraph:—

"This day the Right Hon. Simon Lord Harcourt, Baron of Stanton Harcourt, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain, having, by her Majesty's Command, delivered to her Majesty in Council the Great Seal of Great Britain, her Majesty was graciously pleased immediately to restore it to him again, with the title of Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, whereupon his Lordship took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also the oaths of Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain."

It is allowed on all hands that the corruption of the times did not touch Lord Harcourt; and he was never suspected of trafficking in the sale of offices in the Chancellor's gift.

Unfortunately for the credit of England, this was an exception to the general state of affairs; and it was not till after the impeachment of Chancellor Macclesfield, Lord Harcourt's successor, that forensic fame soared above the breath of scandal. Yet, although the integrity of Lord Harcourt was beyond reproach, there were those who thought that politics and society filched from the law some of those attentions which she had a right to expect from her Chancellor.

Lord Campbell says of him,—

"His experience, combined with his reading and his admirable manner, enabled him to occupy his new seat with ease and dignity,"

and his administration of justice appears to have given general satisfaction.

According to the custom of the times,

a congratulatory poem was addressed to the new Chancellor; it was entitled,—

"A Poem on the occasion of the promotion of the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper Harcourt, to be Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the 7th of April, 1713.

"Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant; Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet."—Virg.
"Et quid facundia posset

Tum patuit."—Ov.

"Ille deæ donis, et tanto lætus honore."-Virg.

"Quid facit interea qui nil nisi prælia noscit."—Ov.

So far the mottoes, and now for a few lines of the poem,—

"Th' enraptured muse to a glad nation sings,
First the great race from which our Harcourt springs,
Noble his blood, and ancient his descent,
E'er since to Norman yoke Britannia bent.

From such united hearts <sup>g</sup>, and hands and tongues, Well might we hope redress of all our wrongs. These, these are they who stemm'd th' impetuous tide Of factious boldness and rebellious pride.

f By Mr. H. Crispe.
Referring to the Ministry of which he formed a part.

Thus when two lions from the forest roar,
And shake the neighbouring hills and distant shore,
Tigers and wolves, and all the beasts of prey,
Draw in their dastard tails and sneak away.
Thus when a brace of eagles, towering high,
Purge of rapacious fowls the darken'd sky,
The stork, the vulture, and the chattering daw,
Kites, buzzards, bitterns, hawks, and rooks withdraw.

Thou, Harcourt, o'er our laws art bid preside, Most learn'd expounder, most unerring guide, To thee the poor, to thee the friendless fly, To thee the widow and the orphan cry; Each suit a just and speedy judgement ends, And cheap success the honest cause attends.

Thy title great without exchange of name, Harcourt could only answer Harcourt's fame; The noblest style and sweetest could be found, All hearts retain it and all tongues resound.

Some loftier muse shall yet in deathless lays
Sing first our Anna's, next our Harcourt's praise;
Your matchless virtues will sure credit bring
To all the wonders poets e'er can sing;
Their names with yours, as prophet, I divine
In British annals shall for ever shine;
Perhaps, not quite forget this humble Muse of mine."

On the 20th of January 1713, Lord Har-

court received the following letter from Lord Bolingbroke:—

"My Lord,—Your Lordship will receive here enclosed copys and extracts of such papers as have been transmitted hither by the Queen's Surveyor-General of Minorca, and of such other papers as I had her Majesty's directions in Councill to send to your Lordship, relating to that Island.

"Your Lordship will be pleased to call to your assistance such persons as you shall think proper in order to consider these papers, and to propose to her Majesty such a form of civil government, being agreeable to the laws of England, as may be fittest to be established in Minorca. If your Lordship shall have occasion for any other papers, you will please to send for them; but I must inform you that I can't find, by the Earl of Dartmouth's books remaining in my office, that anything has been done concerning the settlement of a civil government, or the establishment of the Protestant religion in the said Island.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

"BOLINGBROKE."

When the treaty of Utrecht was nego-

ciated, Lord Harcourt on the side of the English, and the Duc de Harcourt on the side of the French, were actively engaged h.

Being thus brought into contact with each other, on the 9th of July, 1713, the Duc de Harcourt sent Lord Harcourt a present of four magnificent folio volumes of family history, now in the library at Nuneham; together with a genealogical paper, which I insert in the Appendix, as I do not know of its existence elsewhere. The present was made through the Chancellor's son, and was accompanied by the following letter:—

## " A Paris le 9 Juillet, 1713.

"MONSIEUR,—Je reçois la lettre du 2de ce mois que vous me faites l'honneur de m'escrire, j'apprehende fort de n'estre plus ici lorsque vous reviendrés de vostre petit voyage, j'aurois fort souhaite d'avoir l'honneur de vous voir encore une fois avant celui que je vais faire ches moi, ou je vais passer deux mois, et je croi que vous ne ferés pas un long sejour à Paris quand vous y viendrés, j'aurai soin de vous addresser à Londres, les quatre volumes de nostre Genealogie avec un

h The latter certainly had the best of the business.

Extrait i separé que j'en ai retrouvé qui est fort court que je vous prirai de presenter à M. Le Grand Chancellier vostre père et de l'assurer en même tems de mes respects, lui demandant l'honneur de son amitié comme elle doit estre entre deux personnes d'une même maison, je vous demande aussi la votre et vous prie de me croire très parfaitement et pour toutte ma vie.

"Monsieur,

"Vostre très humble et très obeissant serviteur, "LE Mal. DUC DE HARCOURT.

"Ma femme et toutte la famille vous fait ses très humble complimens."

In July, 1713, the widow of Sir Philip Harcourt died, and Lord Harcourt at length became possessed of his family residence at Stanton Harcourt, which had been alienated from him for twenty-five years, since his father's death.

His step-mother had allowed the house to go to ruin, and had parted with the furniture, so that Lord Harcourt felt very little temptation to leave Cokethorpe, where he was comfortably established, or to spend the large sum of money which would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>i</sup> This is the genealogical paper above referred to.

been required to render Stanton Harcourt a desirable residence.

Soon after the installation of the Chancellor, those dissensions commenced in the Cabinet, which sprang out of the jealousies that existed between Oxford and Bolingbroke.

The following letter, addressed to Lord Harcourt by Bolingbroke, may be cited as an instance of the feeling to which I allude:—

"Pray, my Lord, be punctual, and bring back with you a more sanguine disposition than you left Town with. Att least, do not fancy that the Queen and all the rest of us are to be the slaves of him k who was raised by the favour of the former, and the friendship of the latter."

The good offices of the Chancellor had often been instrumental in delaying the climax, which, sooner or later, was sure to arrive; but the failing health of the Queen early in the year 1714, hurried matters on by bringing into prominence the question

k Lord Oxford.

of the succession; and this was the point upon which the rival ministers chiefly differed. Lord Harcourt, sharing in Bolingbroke's views, espoused his cause, and instigated the Queen to answer an address from the Lords, praying her to issue a proclamation against the Pretender, in these words,—

"I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having one issued."

The Chancellor was at this time much exercised by a counter-move of the Whigs; who called upon him, in his official capacity, to make out a writ, in pursuance of a patent passed in 1706, to summon the electoral Prince of Hanover to sit in the House of Lords, as Duke of Cambridge. Refusal was impossible; but sure measures were taken to prevent the arrival of the Prince.

On the 9th of July, 1714, the Chancellor prorogued Parliament by order of the Queen, and retired into the country; but on the

19th of the same month, he received the following letter from Bolingbroke, dated from Kensington:—

"My Lord,—This messenger comes to you by the Queen's command. Her Majesty desires you to be in Town on Wednesday, as early as conveniently you can. Besides the Irish dispute, which some consideration must be had upon Thursday morning, there are too many other affairs of consequence now on foot to dispense with your Lordship's absence. I beg your Lordship's answer by the messenger, who has orders to return with all possible speed,

"And am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful and "obedient servant,

"BOLINGBROKE."

On the 27th of July, 1714, Oxford was dismissed; the death of Anne, however, gave but a short triumph to Bolingbroke; he seemed to lack in the supreme moment either the promptitude or the courage, which gave the victory to his opponents. George the First was proclaimed by Somerset without a dissentient voice, and a Regency was

appointed to govern the kingdom till the arrival of the new King.

The Chancellor was, by virtue of his office, one of the Lords of Regency, and his first act was to administer the necessary oath to his brother Lord-Justices. The Heralds were then ordered to proclaim

"that the high and mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, is, by the death of Queen Anne of blessed memory, become our lawful and rightful liege Lord, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith."

The Lord-Justices at once reappointed Lord Harcourt Chancellor, in the name of the new King.

On the 5th of August, 1714, the Chancellor made a speech to both Houses of Parliament in the following terms:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen, it having pleased Almighty God to take to Himself our late Most Gracious Queen of blessed memory, we hope that nothing has been omitted which might contribute to the safety of these realms, and the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great

conjuncture. As these invaluable blessings have been secured to us by those Acts of Parliament which have settled the succession of the Crown in the most illustrious House of Hanover, we have regulated our proceedings by the rules therein prescribed.

"We are persuaded you will bring with you so hearty a disposition for his Majesty's service and the public good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in everything which may promote those great ends. My Lords and Gentlemen, we forbear laying before you anything which does not require your immediate consideration, not having received his Majesty's pleasure; we shall, therefore, only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity and firm adherence to our Sovereign's interest, as being the only means to continue among us our present happy tranquillity."

On the 13th of the same month, Lord Harcourt again addressed Parliament in his character of representative of the Lord-Justices, who were the temporary rulers of the country; and on the 21st of August he spoke as follows:—

"You may be assured that the unanimity, the cheerfulness, and the despatch with which you

have proceeded in granting these aids, will render them yet more acceptable to his Majesty, and you may depend upon our making a faithful report thereof to him."

There seems reason to think that the negotiations, of whatsoever sort they were, which Bolingbroke had entered upon with the exiled Stuart, had demonstrated the hopelessness of endeavouring to induce that Prince to harmonise his views with those of the majority of the people he was to be called upon to govern.

This impracticability of temper, though it in no way affected the opinions of his adherents respecting his right of succession, yet it doubtless influenced many, and probably Lord Harcourt amongst the number, in their judgment with regard to his personal fitness to rule. The effect of this was to produce a passive acquiescence, and a sort of negative adhesion to the *de facto* government.

It is not surprising that this lukewarm temper should have caused the new King to treat Lord Harcourt with marked disapprobation; and he may perhaps have been esteemed fortunate in having escaped the impeachment which befel Bolingbroke and Oxford. His prudence and general popularity appear to have stood him in good stead, and he simply suffered deprivation of his office and his pension. The Great Seal was taken from him on the 21st of September, 1714, and his ex-Chancellor's pension was denied him.

He now retired to Cokethorpe, and spent his time in social and literary pursuits. He gathered round him all the *literati* of the day: Swift, Gay, Pope, Prior, Phillips, Arbuthnot, Parnell, were habitual frequenters of his table; and his only surviving son, who was an accomplished scholar, assisted him in the entertainment of his distinguished guests, and in the arrangement of his very competent library.

His library was still maintained at Stanton Harcourt, where he also fitted up some rooms for the accommodation of Pope and Gay, who visited him there in the year 1718.

The following letter from Pope to the Duke of Buckingham, in answer to an epistle wherein the Duke inclosed a description of Buckingham House, describes the then condition of Stanton Harcourt, with a poet's licence. It gains, perhaps, in entertainment what it lacks in truth.

"I have been reading a description of Pliny's house, with an eye to yours; but finding they will bear no comparison, will try if it can be match'd by the large country-seat I inhabit at present, and see what figure it may make by the help of a florid description.

"You must expect nothing regular in my description, any more than in the house; the whole vast edifice is so disjointed, and the several parts of it so detach'd one from the other, and yet so joining again, one cannot tell how, that, in one of my poetical fits, I imagined it had been a village in Amphion's time, where the cottages having taken a country dance together, had been all out, and stood stone-still with amazement ever since.

"You must excuse me if I say nothing of the front; indeed, I don't know which it is. A stranger would be grievously disappointed, who endeavour'd to get into the house the right way. One would reasonably expect after the entry through the porch to be let into the hall: alas, nothing less! you find yourself in the house of office.

"From the parlour you think to step into the drawing-room; but upon opening the ironnail'd door, you are convinc'd by a flight of birds about your ears, and a cloud of dust in your eyes, that it is the Pigeon-house<sup>1</sup>.

"If you come into the Chapel, you find its altars, like those of the ancients, continually smoking; but it is with the steams of the adjoining kitchen.

"The great hall, within is high and spacious, flank'd on one side with a very long table, a true image of ancient hospitality: the walls are all over ornamented with monstrous horns of animals, about twenty broken pikes, ten or a dozen blunderbusses, and a rusty matchlock musquet or two, which we were informed had served in the Civil Wars. Here is one vast arch'd window, beautifully darken'd with divers scutcheons of painted glass: one shining pane in particular bears date 1286, which alone preserves the memory of a knight whose iron armour is long since perished with rust, and whose allabaster nose is moulder'd from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is all pure fiction.

his monument. The face of dame Eleanor in another piece, owes more to that single pane than to all the glass she ever consulted in her life.

"After this, who can say that glass is frail, when it is not half so frail as human beauty or glory! and yet I can't but sigh to think that the most authentic record of so ancient a family should lie at the mercy of every infant who flings a stone. In former days there have dined in this hall garter'd knights, and courtly dames, attended by ushers, servers, and seneschals; and yet it was but last night that an owl flew hither, and mistook it for a barn.

"This hall lets you (up and down), over a very high threshold, into the great parlour. Its contents are a broken-belly'd virginal, a couple of cripled velvet chairs, with two or three mill-dew'd pictures of mouldy ancestors, who look as dismally, as if they came fresh from hell with all their brimstone about them; these are carefully set at the farther corner, for the windows being everywhere broken, made it so convenient a place to dry poppies and mustard-seed, that the room is appropriated to that use.

"Next this parlour, as I said before, lies the pigeon-house, by the side of which runs an entry, which lets you on one hand and t'other into a bedchamber, a buttery, and a small hole call'd the chaplain's study: then follow a brew-house, a little

green and gilt parlour, and the great stairs, under which is the dairy; a little farther, on the right the servants' hall, and by the side of it, up six steps, is the old lady's closet for her private devotions; which has a lattice into the hall, intended (as we imagine) that at the same time as she pray'd, she might have an eye on the men and maids.

"There are upon the ground-floor in all twentysix apartments, among which I must not forget a chamber which has in it a large antiquity of timber, that seems to have been either a bedstead or a cyder-press. The kitchen is built in form of the Rotunda, being one vast vault to the top of the house, where one aperture serves to let out the smoke, and let in the light. By the blackness of the walls, the circular fires, vast cauldrons, yawning mouths of ovens and furnaces, you would think it either the forge of Vulcan, the cave of Polypheme, or the temple of Moloch. The horror of this place has made such an impression on the country people, that they believe the witches keep their Sabbath here, and that once a-year the Devil treats them with infernal venison, a roasted tiger stuffed with tenpenny nails.

"Above stairs we have a number of rooms: you never pass out of one into another, but by the ascent or descent of two or three stairs. Our best room is very long and low, of the exact propor-

tion of a band-box. In most of these rooms there are hangings of the finest work in the world, that is to say, those which Arachne spins from her own bowels. Were it not for this only furniture, there would be a miserable scene of naked walls, flaw'd ceilings, broken windows, and rusty locks.

"The roof is so decay'd, that after a favourable shower, we may expect a crop of mushrooms between the chinks of our floors. All the doors are as little and low as those to the cabbins of packet-boats. These rooms have for many years had no other inhabitants than certain rats, whose very age renders them worthy of this feat, for the very rats of this venerable house are grey: since these have not yet quitted it, we hope at least that this ancient mansion may not fall during the small remnant these poor animals have to live, who are now too infirm to remove to another. There is yet a small subsistence left them in the books of the library. We had never seen half what I have described, but for a starch'd grey-headed old steward, who is as much an antiquity as any in this place, and looks like an old family picture walk'd out of its frame.

"He entertain'd us as we pass'd from room to room with several relations of the family; but his observations were particularly curious when we came to the cellar: he inform'd us where stood the triple rows of butts of sack, and where were ranged the bottles of tent, for toasts in a morning; he pointed to the stands that supported the iron-hooped hogsheads of strong beer; then stepping to a corner, he lugg'd out the tatter'd fragments of an unframed picture; 'This' (says he with tears) 'was poor Sir Thomas! once master of all this drink. He had two sons, poor young masters! who never arrived to the age of this beer; they both fell ill in this very room, and never went out on their own legs.'

"He could not pass by a heap of broken bottles without taking up a piece, to show us the arms of the family upon it. He then led us up the Tower by dark winding stone steps, which landed us into several little rooms one above another. One of these was nail'd up, and our guide whisper'd to us a secret, the occasion of it. A ghost is supposed to walk there, and some prying maids of the family report that they have seen a lady in a fardingale through the key-hole; but this matter is husht up, and the servants are forbid to talk of it.

"I must needs have tired you by this long description: but what engaged me in it, was a generous principle to preserve the memory of that which itself must soon fall into dust, nay, perhaps part of it, before this letter reaches your hands. Indeed, we owe this old house the same kind of gratitude that we do to an old friend,

who harbours us in his declining condition, nay, even in his last extremities. How fit is this retreat for uninterrupted study, where no one passing by can dream there is an inhabitant, and even those who would dine with us, dare not stay under our roof! Any one that sees it will own I could not have chosen a more likely place to convert the dead in. I had been mad, indeed, if I had left your Grace for any one but Homer. But when I return to the living, I shall have the sense to endeavour to converse with the best of them, and shall therefore as soon as possible tell you in person how much I am, &c. &c."

Gay the poet, who was staying at Stanton Harcourt at the same time as Pope, contributes his experiences in the following letter:—

"The only news that you can expect to have from me here is news from heaven; for I am quite out of the world, and there is scarce anything can reach me except the noise of thunder, which, undoubtedly, you have heard too. We have read in old authors of high towers levelled by it to the ground, while the humble valleys have escaped. The only thing that is proof against it is the laurel, which, however, I take to be no security to the brains of modern authors. But to let

you see that the contrary to this often happens, I must acquaint you, that the highest and most extravagant heap of towers in the universe, which is in this neighbourhood, stands still undefaced. while a cock of barley in our next field has been consumed to ashes. Would to God that this heap of barley had been all that had perished; for, unhappily, beneath this little shelter sat two much more constant lovers than ever were found in Romance, under the shade of a beech-tree. John Hewet was a well-set man, of about five and twenty; Sarah Drew might be rather called comely than beautiful, and was about the same age. They had passed through the various labours of the year together with the greatest satisfaction: if she milked, 'twas his morning and evening care to bring the cows to her hand. It was but last fair that he bought her a present of green silk for her straw hat, and the posy on her silver ring was of his choosing. Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; for scandal never affirmed that they had any other views than the lawful possession of each other in marriage.

"It was the very morning that they had obtained the consent of her parents, and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be made happy.

"Perhaps, in the intervals of their work, they were now talking of their wedding clothes, and

John was suiting several sorts of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, to choose her a hat for the wedding-day. While they were thus busied, (it was on the last of July, between two and three in the afternoon,) the clouds grew black, and such a storm of lightning and thunder ensued, that all the labourers made the best of their way to what shelter the trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frighted, and fell down in a swoon on a heap of barley. John, who never separated from her, sat down by her side, having raked together two or three heaps, the better to secure her from the storm.

"Immediately there was heard so loud a crack, as if heaven had split asunder. Every one was now solicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and called to one another throughout the field. No answer being returned to those who called to our lovers, they stepped to the place where they lay. They perceived the barley all in a smoke; and then spied this faithful pair, John with one arm about Sarah's neck, and the other held over her, as to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead and stiffened in this tender posture. Sarah's left evebrow was singed, and there appeared a black spot on her breast; her lover was all over black, but not the least signs of life were found in either. Attended by their melancholy companions, they were conveyed to the town, and the next day were interred in Stanton Harcourt churchyard.

"My Lord Harcourt, at Mr. Pope's and my request, has caused a stone to be placed over them, upon condition that we furnish an Epitaph: which is as follows:—

"When eastern lovers feed the funeral fire,
On the same pile the faithful pair expire:
Here pitying Heaven that virtue mutual found,
And blasted both, that it might neither wound;
Hearts so sincere th' Almighty saw well pleased,
Sent His own lightning, and the victims seized."

"But my Lord is apprehensive the country people will not understand this; and Mr. Pope says he'll make one with something of Scripture in it, and with as little of poetry as Hopkins and Sternhold."

This Epitaph now exists on the outward south wall of the church:—

"Think not by rig'rous judgment seiz'd,
A pair so faithful could expire;
Victims so pure, Heav'n saw well pleas'd,
And snatch'd them in celestial fire.
Live well, and fear no sudden fate;
When God calls virtue to the grave,
Alike 'tis justice, soon or late,
Mercy alike to kill or save.
Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
And face the flash that melts the ball."

Lord Harcourt's library was at this time greatly enriched by a legacy from Lord Torrington, who left him all his books; he also received numerous presents, such as the "Maison d'Harcourt" given to him by the Marechal Duc de Harcourt, above alluded to; copies of the works of Pope, Prior, &c.; a fine edition of the Elzevirs; and, as an example of the value of books at the beginning of the eighteenth century, might be mentioned the "Tractatus Tractatum," in twenty-one volumes folio, which Lord Harcourt caused to be procured in Paris, and for which he paid eighty guineas, a considerable price in those days.

The following letter was written by the celebrated Dr. Mead, who procured this book:—

" Ormond-st., July 25, 1723.

"My LORD,—I do myself this honour to acquaint your Lordship that of the books expected from France, the Tractatus Tractatum, and one of those that belong to the King of France's collection are come; the Tractatus is a fine copy, I have ordered my bookbinder to collate it very

carefully, and if it proves perfect, shall purchase it for four score guineas, which is the lowest price, and I believe not dear. The book belonging to the French King's collection I shall take, and your Lordship shall not pay for it 'till the other volumes are sent over, which I hope will be quickly. Our friend my Lord Bolingbroke was seized yesterday with a violent fit of his ague, and I expect will have another to-morrow, and no more. I have advised him to hasten his journey to Aix, and I believe he will set out in a few days after your Lordship's coming to Town; he desired me with his humble service to excuse his not writing by this post to your Lordship upon the account of his indisposition.

"I am always with greatest respect,
"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, most humble Servant,

"R. MEAD."

The Chancellor's library was transported to Nuneham by his grandson, and has since been very largely added to by subsequent possessors <sup>m</sup>.

During his retirement, a correspondence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>m</sup> A magnificent folio vol. on the Horse, by Lafosse, was presented to Simon Earl Harcourt by the Chevalier de la Plegniere.

took place between Lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior. It is necessary to premise that Mr. Prior had been sent privately to Paris to treat for peace, and the French envoys afterwards met secretly in his house in London, on the same behest. These proceedings formed the basis of a charge of high treason, and occasioned his being kept in prison by the Whigs for two years when they succeeded to office.

The letter from Prior was dated, Paris, March 21st, 1715:

"My Lord,—As I have been particularly concerned in a negociation at present so much questioned, and done my best in the execution of the commands of my superior; and as I have received advices alarming enough, I desire your advice particularly as to the point of my first coming into France with no other power than that of the Queen, with her own private *cachette*, if this were not in law a sufficient warrant for my acting. Pray give credit to what these gentlemen will say to you on my part.

"And believe me ever with great respect yours,
"M. PRIOR."

The following is the copy of his commission, which Prior sent to Lord Harcourt:—

"Commission donnée au Sieur Prior, Anne R.

"Le Sieur Prior est pleinement instruit et autorisé de communiquer à la France nos demandes preliminaires et de vous en rapporter la reponse".

"Signé, A. R."

## Hallam has remarked:-

"Though it may seem an extraordinary position to take up, yet it is a true one, that in the reign of Charles II. the prerogative of the Crown swerved into fewer excesses than at any other time.

"William of Orange, on the contrary, practised such departures from sound constitutional usage, as left Parliament no controul over the executive administration; and, notably, in the affair of the partition treaties, William took the whole of those most important negotiations entirely into his own hands; thus substituting the single will of the Sovereign for the responsibility of those

n It is not of course to be supposed that Anne was acting by or for herself in this matter. The Queen's ardent desire for peace was made to serve the purpose of those who hoped to humble Marlborough. What is noteworthy is, that the Queen's private ordinance should have been considered a sufficient instrument in the transaction of affairs of such importance.

advisers who ought to be the constitutional guardians of the national safety.

"In the reign of Anne, under the Bill of Rights, the last great statute which restrains the power of the Crown, the vessel," says Hallam, "seems riding in smooth water; the battle had been fought and gained."

It is curious, therefore, to observe from the contents of the above letter, how a question is raised as to the legality of a public servant's acting in affairs of national importance, during the reign of Anne, under no warrant beyond the private instructions of the Sovereign; and it would have been more curious still to have seen Lord Harcourt's answer to the letter.

Lord Harcourt's seclusion lasted for three years; in the year 1717 Walpole, who was not then in office, assisted the former Chancellor with his advice, when he was endeavouring to defeat the Government in

<sup>•</sup> The advice given was to raise a dispute between the Lords and Commons.

the matter of Lord Oxford's impeachment. This trial had drawn Lord Harcourt from his retirement, and the successful issue of his efforts to obtain an acquittal, bound him to Walpole by the ties of a mutual interest.

In 1718, Lord Harcourt made a speech in the House of Lords upon the Mutiny Bill, and thenceforth resumed his Parliamentary duties.

In April, 1720, Lord Harcourt received the following letter from Prior:—

"I have been, as my duty and inclination required, to pay my great respects to my ever-honoured Lord and Patron Harcourt; not finding your Lordship at home, I make bold to send you the inclosed 'case,' as it stands recommended to me by a judge and a dean from Ireland.

"They all think that my Lord Harcourt favouring their cause will be a manifest advantage to them, and I think so too. But what of that? may be their cause is not a good one, and then my Lord Harcourt will fling it into the fire: however, my Lord Harcourt has it, and 'liberavi animam meam;' though I do not understand the

law, I find one good thing in this case, that it gives me an opportunity of reporting to you my being ever, with great truth and respect,

"Your Lordship's obedient, humble servant, "M. PRIOR.

"Dear Dick desires to be jointly included.
"Friday Morning, Westminster,
"April, 1720."

In June, 1720, Lord Harcourt had the great misfortune to lose his only remaining son, of whom he was justly proud, and to whom he was most tenderly attached. The young man died in Paris, on his way back to England. He had long been in delicate health.

His body was brought home to be placed in the family vault at Stanton Harcourt. His epitaph, which was written by Pope, is thus characterised by Doctor Samuel Johnson:—

"This epitaph is principally remarkable for the artful introduction of the name, which is inserted with a peculiar felicity, to which chance must concur with genius, which no man can hope to

attain twice, and which cannot be copied but with servile imitation.

"I cannot but wish that, of this inscription, the two last lines had been omitted, as they take away from the energy what they do not add to the sense."

The lines, as they are engraved upon the marble in the Harcourt chapel, run thus:—

"To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art, draw near:
If ever friend, if ever son was dear,
Here lies the youth, who ne'er this friend denied,
Or gave his father grief, but when he died.

"How vain is reason! eloquence, how weak!

If Pope must tell what Harcourt cannot speak;

Oh, let thy once-lov'd friend inscribe thy stone,

And with a father's sorrows mix his own."

The following letter from Lord Harcourt to Mr. Pope, shews him to have been a nice critic; and the line

"Harcourt stands dumb, and Pope is forced to speak" was at once altered by the poet.

Pope seems afterwards to have made further alterations; as we find that the first stanza in his printed works varies from the reading on the marble tablet. The printed version reads as follows:—

"To this sad shrine, whoe'er thou art! draw near:
Here lies the Friend most lov'd, the Son most dear;
Who ne'er knew joy, but Friendship might divide,
Or gave his Father grief, but when he died."

"December 6th, 1722.

"I cannot but suspect myself of being very unreasonable in begging you once more to review the inclos'd. Your friendship draws this trouble on you. I may freely own to you, that my tenderness makes me exceeding hard to be satisfied with anything which can be said on such an unhappy subject. I caus'd the Latin P Epitaph to be as often alter'd before I could approve of it.

"When once your Epitaph is set up, there can be no alteration of it, it will remain a perpetual monument of your friendship, and I assure myself you will so settle it, that it shall be worthy of you.

"I doubt whether the word 'deny'd,' in the third line, will justly admit of that construction

P This Latin epitaph is mentioned by Sir John Evelyn in his Diary; he says he saw it on the tablet which was erected to Simon Harcourt, at the time he attended the Lord Chancellor's funeral, in the church at Stanton Harcourt. It is now nowhere to be found.

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which it ought to bear—viz. renounced, deserted, &c.; 'deny'd' is capable, in my opinion, of having an ill sense put upon it, as too great uneasiness, or more good nature, than a wise man ought to have. I very well remember you told me you could scarce mend those two lines, and therefore I can scarce expect your forgiveness for my desiring you to reconsider them.

'Harcourt stands dumb, and Pope is forc'd to speak.' I can't perfectly, at least without further discoursing you, reconcile myself to the first part of that line; and the word 'forc'd' (which was my own, and, I persuade myself, for that reason only submitted to by you), seems to carry too doubtful a construction for an Epitaph, which, as I apprehend, ought as easily to be understood as read. I shall acknowledge it as a very particular favour, if at your best leisure you will peruse the inclosed, and vary it, if you think it capable of being amended, and let me see you any morning next week.

"I am, &c."

A picture of this young man (he died at the age of thirty-seven) was painted in Paris by Le Belle, and presented by himself to Prior; it now hangs in the state-bedroom at Nuneham. The following letter relates to it:—

"My Lord,—Having received my Lord Harley's commands to wait on your Lordship with a picture of your late dear son, Mr. Simon Harcourt, presented by him to Mr. Prior at Paris, and painted there by Monsieur Le Belle, I take leave this way, my Lord, to acquaint you therewith, and humbly pray that you will be pleased to signify to the bearer at what hour any morning I may pay my duty to your Lordship accordingly; having the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"ADRIAN DRIFT.

" Feb. 17, 1721."

The following letter was written to Lord Harcourt by Sir John Evelyn, who was brother to the Hon. Mrs. Harcourt, the Chancellor's daughter-in-law, and is dated,—

> "Duke-street, Westminster, "March 29, 1721.

"MY LORD,—Sir Thos. Cross and Mr. Lownds having last night sent to the High Bailiff their protest against the disorders of the election, did not appear to-day, notwithstanding which the Poll was carried on in the presence of the other

Candidates, and is adjourn'd to Monday, 'tis said her Grace of Marlborough, as she passed thro' the new Palace-yard to Lord Delaware's, cried out a Hutcheson, who I hear has carried it from Mr. Pultney at Hastings by one.

"I can't imagine what is doing in Surrey, neither the County election, nor so much as that of any Borough being over, though we have accounts of all those in the other countys adjoyning to London; and of several in the more remote, there being no advertisement yet of the day of the County election; to be sure it can't be so soon as next week, or even before Wednesday sennight, if what a relation of Mr. Walter told me this evening be true, that the County Court was the very day of the issuing the writts, and the Sheriff did not adjourn it in expectation of the Surrey writt.

"I was glad to see Sir John Stonehouse's name in the papers to-day, after hearing yesterday Mr. Gray had outpolled him the first day of the Election by 600.

"'Tis said the Duke of Hamilton, at the head of twenty-seven Scotch Peers, is resolved to oppose such as will not oblige themselves to be against any bill for settling the Peerage.

"My wife, who is just come home, desires her humble service to your Lordship, and says she hears a great man said last night, Sir Thomas Cross and Mr. Lownds should petition; and that there is a report about town of Lord Rockingham's dying three hours before his son.

"I am, my Lord,
"Your most humble and obedient servant,
"I. EVELYN."

The following letter was from Sir Richard Levinge, an Irish judge, and shews how largely Lord Harcourt's advice was sought:—

" Dublin, Jan. 16, 1722.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Mr. Thomas Acton, who is Chirographer of the Court of Common Pleas here, has a cause depending before your Lordship upon an appeale from the Chancery here, and has desired me to write to your Lordship. I was very unwilling to give your Lordship this trouble, and told him that if he had justice on his side, he might be assured of a full measure of it from your Lordship, and if that were wanting, nothing could supply the defect. But his being very importunate, and known to mee to be a very honest man, and a good officer in the Court in which I sitt, and it being the custome here with great dilligence to seek for letters from persons to such of the Lords as they have the honour to be known to, I hope your Lordship would not take it ill, if I took this opportunity

of expressing the great respect I have ever had for your Lordship, and desiring the favour of your Lordship to be present at the hearing of this gentleman's cause.

"I was in London from September was a twelvemonths to the January following, but was all the time laid up of the gout, and could not stir out of my lodgeings till about a week before I came away: in that time I was twice at your Lordship's house to wait upon you, to testify my most sincere respect, and to preserve myself in your Lordship's memory; but had the misfortune not to find your Lordship at home. I hope your Lordship's servants did not wholy forget mee, and least that should happen I desired some of the Judges, and particularly Mr. Justice Tracey, to give my most humble service to your Lordship, and to acquaint you with the endeavours I used to take my leave of your Lordship before I left the kingdom. I also spoke to my Lord Ferrers to do me the same good office to your Lordship.

"Our session of Parliament here will be concluded in a day or two, and 'tis certain that none has passed so gently and smoothly since I knew Ireland. They have indeed according to their custome ranted in the House of Commons against the Councill Board here for altering the heads of bills which came from them, and in their testy humour have thrown out a most useful bill touch-

ing the Lanner's manufacture (which is the only thing that at this time brings any ready money into this kingdome) and two other bills, and have not been spareing of their scurvy language, and I am certain they would have proceeded to resolutions even against the authority of Poyning's Law, but were restrained purely by the respect they had to the Duke of Grafton, whose government they would not make uneasy; and I must needs say that I think hee is the most fortunate chief governor I ever saw, for all sorts of people love him, and for his sake only can be prevailed upon to waive their own excessive hatreds and animosities; and 'tis remarkable that tho' the greatest part of his ministers and instruments are utterly divided among themselves, and have preferred the gratifyeing their passions before his service, yet hee has had the art to succeed in every thing which he sought for, by the force of his own single discretion, assisted by a sweetness of temper that has been too powerfull for any opposition.

"I am, my very good Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obliged and most
faithfull, humble servant,
"RIO LEVINGE"

As the last letter sought Lord Harcourt's assistance in legal affairs, so the following epistle seeks his advice in literary matters:—-

"My Lord,—As I have been of late very ambitious of receiving your Lordship's advice in whatever I am about to publish, so I presume to send you this introduction to King William's reign, in hopes to obtain your opinion about it, when I shall wait upon your Lordship two or three days hence.

"Your very generous treatment at several times, leaves me no room to doubt of your pardon in this case, and likewise gives me hopes of further advice from your Lordship with relation to that Reign. In the mean time, I am proud of the opportunity of declaring my heartiest thanks to you for all your favours and kindnesses shown to

"Your Lordship's most obliged and most obedient servant,

"LAURENCE ECHARD.

"London, April 7th, 1722."

The two following letters are purely matters of business; the one from the Duke of Chandos, the other from Lord Harcourt:—

" Sept. 13, 1723.

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship hath had the goodness to give yourself so much trouble in the

affair that was depending between Lord Harley and me relating to my lease of your ground in Cavendish Square, that I flatter myself you will not be displeased if I trespass so far upon your time as to acquaint you wee consented this morning to the articles, in the form they were drawn up by your Lordship's directions, and with the alterations you had been pleased to approve of: there is likewise an additional covenant endorst on the back, whereby my Lord and Lady agree to let me have the whole first part of the ground fronting the Square, viz. 320 foot wide, and 430 feet deep, upon my surrendering to them as much of the ground which lies North, as your Lordship and Lord Bingley shall judge to be a sufficient equivalent: you see, my Lord, I have presumed to draw a fresh trouble upon you, and for the pardon of this liberty wholly rely upon your Lordship's generosity, the good effects of which I have so frequently already experienced.

"As this enlargement of the house will render it too late in the season to begin building this year, I shall defer it till next spring, in the mean while I propose to be laying out for such materials as will be still wanting, and for the brickwork I shall very willingly make use of Mr. Prince; the good opinion your Lordship hath of him is a sufficient recommendation to me, and his having behaved himself so as to gain your protection

will alwaies entitle him to any good office I can render him.

"I hope it will not be long before we shall have the honour to see your Lordship in town, notwithstanding the encouragement this fine weather gives to continue in the country.

"I am with great respect,
"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant, "CHANDOS."

" May 15, 1724.

"MR. Moore,—I desire you very carefully to inspect all the work which has been done at my House q in Ca'ndish Sqr., and whereever you find anything so defective therein, as you shall conceive it fitt to be amended, order the respective persons concerned to amend their work as you shall think proper, and let each of them know that they are to observe your directions only as to any such amendmt of their work, or any such further work which remains yet to be done; and I desire you to appoint such persons as you shall think fitt, to finish the Hall Story as to ye wainscott, ceilings, and all other respects, and to contract with them for such prices as you shall think proper for having the work well done,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>q</sup> Harcourt House, which still forms a part of the family estate, being leased at present to the Duke of Portland.

and from time to time to give me notice how you proceed.

"I am, your Friend,

"HARCOURT.

"To Mr. James Moore."

## From Mr. T. Hervey:-

" Nov. 13th, 1725.

"My Lord, — Your Lordship's complaisance ought to be better requited; but I thought the honour you did my verses this morning, lay'd me under a sort of obligation to do myself this; I have sent your Lordship copys of both the trifling things I wrote at Bath, concluding that the person who mentioned the former to you may have exposed me farther.

"Nothing less than your Lordship's great goodness and partiality to me can make you think they deserve the character your Lordship heard of them; but I so much depend on them, that I shall make no apologys for giving you this trouble.

"T. HERVEY.

## "AN HUMBLE WISH.

"I ask not wit, nor beauty do I crave,
Nor wealth, nor pompous titles wish to have;
But, since 'tis doomed through all degrees of life,
Whether a daughter, sister, or a wife,

That females should the stronger males obey, And yield implicit to their Lordly sway: Since this, alas! is every woman's fate, Give me a mind to suit my slavish state."

## "THE ANSWER.

"Nature, perversly, to thy wish has given
The choicest blessings of indulgent Heaven.
Equivocating fair, you ask not wit!
You ask not beauty! neither is it fit;
Your mind were slavish did you love excess,
For misers only want what they possess."

"EPITAPH FOR MISS A. JENNENS.

"Intomb'd here lyes sweet smiling Nann, Ravished by death e'er touch'd by man; Near her the faithfull youth interr'd, Who death with her to life preferr'd: In him his utmost power behold, Who, lay'd by her, can be so cold."

In this place may properly be inserted a series of letters from Alexander Pope, the poet, to Lord Harcourt. Their intimacy has already been alluded to.

There are two good pictures of Pope at Nuneham, one by Richardson, which has been engraved, and forms the frontispiece of an early edition of Pope's works; and another by Sir Godfrey Kneller, a very excellent and characteristic picture, in perfect condition. This picture is alluded to in one of the letters which follow. The servility of the style of some of these letters is very little in accordance with the modern notions of self-respect:—

"Twitenham, December 19th, 1721.

"My Lord,—I know I need not give your Lordship any thanks, or, if I should attempt it, before the thanks would reach you I should find the obligation doubled. I have sent Dr. Parnel's book for the Duke, and think it happy that I cannot go with it, since your Lordship will by that means be my orator, an advantage so great, that I think it would be my wisest way never once to come near you whilst you are doing me service, friendship, and honour. Believe me, my Lord, (what you cannot but believe me), with the sincerest respect and fidelity,

"Your most obedient servant,
"A. POPE."

"Twitenham, Feb. 20, 1722 r.

"MY LORD,—It is really the height of respect to you that I do not write oftener: for every day

r Note by Lord Harcourt, "answered Feb. 21."

since I saw your Lordship, I have had much difficulty to refrain from telling you what you need not be told, the warm sense I ever must have of the obligations of every kind you have layd, and daily are laying, upon me. I could almost forget all respect and distance, and use the phrase to you which I used to Mr. Harcourt, (friendship), and never say (obligations) more.

"The advice your Lordship gave me, has not been the single reason of my stay here in the country, for God and nature have given me another, in my poor mother's illness, which has been dangerous, though she now seems to recover; I think my melancholy office of attending her in this last decline of life, is much like that of watching over a taper that is expiring; and even when it burns a little while brighter than ordinary, is but the nearer going out; and such indeed are the very best intervals of life, when so nigh its end.

"I have lately been struck with a thought upon which, as upon all others, I would be determined by your Lordship's advice. In case I am under any displeasure of my Governours (however innocently), I should be uneasy to be obliged, in the affair of Homer, by any who dislike me: neither do I believe you would have me.

"Your Lordship, I very well know, has defended me to many, with that weight and suc-

cess which attends whatever defence is made by you; with my Lord Carteret I have had myself an opportunity of eclaircissement, but I have a particular inclination (if you judge it not unfitting) to write a word in the most respectful terms to my Lord Chancellor, proposing to resign my design on the Odysses to Tickell, in deference to his judgement, and at the same time take occasion to vindicate myself from the notion of being a partyman, to him who is more absolutely a stranger to me, than any man (I believe) in the government. I've drawn up such a letter, which I'll consult you upon, when I've the pleasure to see your Lordship next: It will at least make you smile, if it be good for nothing else. I fancy in general, my appearing cool in the matter, and taking upon me a kind of dignity while I am abused and slandered, will have no ill effect in promoting it. My mother is not so ill, but she will always remember her services to your family.

"I am ever, my Lord,
"Your most faithfull servant,
"A. POPE."

" Twit'nam, April 7th, 1722.

"MY LORD,—You will too naturally allow the misfortune of want of sight to be a very great one, but I assure your Lordship I never more found it so, than when I met your coach and

family on the road to the country, without knowing who you were, till you was past call. I was going to London with the very design of claiming a most obliging promise, that yourself and family would lose one day upon me at Twit'nam. How dissapointed I return'd to my mother (whom I had filled with the same hope) at night.

"I am uncertain whether your Lordship sees the town again this season. If you do, I wish you would reflect, among the many kind and the many good things you do, how greatly you might please and reward a man who desires no greater satisfaction than the honour of your company, and no greater bribe than the continuance of your friendly opinion. Be pleased to accept my most sincere wishes for your happiness, which includes that of a whole race that I am obliged to.

"I am, with the truest respect and acknow-ledgement, my Lord,

"Your most obliged, most faithfull, humble servant,

" A. POPE."

"To the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Viscount Harcourt, at Cockthorp, near Witney, Oxon."

" Tuesday, July 17, 1722.

"MY LORD,—Hearing by Mr. Vernon of your Lordship's return to Town, and of the favourable mention your Lordship made of me, and my little

workes at Twickenham, I earnestly beg you will now be so good to compleat my vanities, by giving us the honour of your company one day, whichsoever can be best spared from your better affaires. A word to me from Mr. Rock, will secure your Lordship from being starved that day, while there are chickens at Brentford, and mutton at Twitnam.

"I am, with the sincerest respect,
"Your Lordship's most faithfull, obliged servant,
"A. POPE."

" Saturday, 8 a'clock, Nov. 24, 1722.

"My LORD,—I was to see the Bishops at his Grate to-day, where I had a proof of what I before knew, and once took the liberty to mention to your Lordship, his dependance on your personal friendship for him. He desired me to acquaint your Lordship, that he designs to trouble you with a line or two, by the hands of my Lord Carlisle, which he hopes no accident will hinder your receiving to-morrow.

"I know your Lordship's humanity so well, that I'm sure you'l be pleased if you can do any good-natured office; and, were I myself in misfortune, I should think I could feel but half its weight while I had the happiness to have you a friend to me in it. I hope I need not tell you

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Probably Bishop Atterbury.

I cannot sleep till I have mended the epitaph, the subject of which I shall never forget: tho' I ought not to put you in mind of a point so tender, but that 'tis necessary you should think of his partiality to me, to make you continue yours, to him who is with the greatest respect and obligation,

"My Lord,

"Your most faithfull, most obedient, humble servant,

"A. POPE.

"On Monday I shall in person come to beg your pardon for this scroll."

"Munday, 9 a'clock, May 5, 1723.

"My Lord,—Your Lordship gave me a hint, in relation to what I was to say before the Lords, and to the proper manner of answering, which I thought would be of great service to me, as well as extreamly obliging in your Lordship. I shall certainly to the best of my memory observe it.

"But I have chanc't to drop a paper in which I had set it down, and where I had entered another memorandum to ask you about, which makes me wish I had found an opportunity this day, or early to-morrow, to talk further to your Lordship hereon. I resolve to take an opportunity of declaring (even upon oath) how different I am from what a reputed Papist is. I could

almost wish I were asked if I am not a Papist? Would it be proper, in such case, to reply, that I don't perfectly know the import of the word, and would not answer anything that might, for ought I know, be prejudicial to me, during the bill against such, which is depending. But that, if to be a Papist be to profess and hold many such tenets of faith as are ascribed to Papists, I am not a Papist. And if to be a Papist, be to hold any that are averse to, or destructive of, the present government, King, or Constitution; I am no Papist. I very much wish I had your Lordship's opinion a little more at large, since probably I may not be called upon this day or to-morrow. I know your humanity and particular kindness to me, and therefore will add no more, but that I am, what it is impossible for me not to be, highly sensible of it, and entirely

"Your Lordship's most obliged, faithfull servant, "A. POPE."

"Twitenham, June 21st, 1723.

"My LORD,—I write this to your Lordship in the zeal and fulness of my heart, which has scarce permitted me to stay till your return from Oxfordshire (of which I had the news but to-day). You have done me many and great favours, and I have a vast deal to thank you for; but I shall now go near to forget all that is past, and perhaps

be so ungrateful as never to mention it more; since everything you could hitherto do for me is quite swallowed up and lost in what you have now done, for me and for the whole nation, in restoring to us my Lord Bolingbroke.

"Allow me, my Lord, in a private letter to phrase it thus plainly, and not to seek other terms, to seem to lessen my particular obligation, in ascribing any great part of it to any other than yourself. Allow me further to say (with a freedom which your Lordship's constant openness, and may I presume to think friendship? has encouraged me to use it, with all possible respect, to you:) That nothing which could have been a mortification to me this year, either as to the loss of any of my fortune, or any of my friends, could have been so well recompensed, as by this action of our Government.

"My personal esteem for, and obligation to, my Lord Bolingbroke, are such, that I could hardly complain of any afflictions, if I saw him at the end of his. I know no real merit I have, but in a sincerely and lasting sense of gratitude to every friend I have found; I can deeply grieve in their grief, and rejoice in their joy. I have had my share, very lately, in one; and it is owing to your Lordship that I shall now have my turn in the other.

"That I may ever be happy in subjects of

congratulation, and never know an occasion of condolence with your Lordship (after that great one which I shall never forget, or the loss of that friend, to whose recommendations I owe the honour I have to call your Lordship so): this, my Lord, is the sincerest wish of him who shall ever be with all truth,

"Your most faithfull and ever obliged servant,
"A. Pope."

" Twitnam, August 22d, 1723.

"My Lord,—It is a satisfaction to me to tell your Lordship, that I shall not be any way disappointed of the honour you intend me of filling a place in your library with my picture<sup>t</sup>. I came to Town yesterday, and got admission to Sir Godfrey Kneller, who assured me the original was done for your Lordship, and that you, and no man but you, should have it. I saw the picture there afterwards, and was told then by his man that you had sent and put a seal upon it ". So I am certain this affair is settled.

"Give me leave, my Lord, with great sincerity, to thank you for so obliging a thought, as thus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>t</sup> This picture now hangs in the octagon drawing-room at Nuneham.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>u</sup> Kneller was said to have a habit of selling his pictures over the heads of their, proper owners to the highest bidders; hence the precaution taken by Lord Harcourt.

to make me a sharer in the memory, as well as I was in the love, of a person who was justly the dearest object to you in the world: and thus to be authorized by you to be called his friend, after both of us shall be dust. I am ever with all good wishes to your Lordship and your family (in which too I must do my Mother the justice to join her),

"My Lord,

"Your most obliged and most faithfull servant, "A. POPE.

"Whether this will find you in the town or at Cockthrop, I am ignorant; but hope when you return to wait upon your Lordship."

" Twitenham, Oct. 16, 1723.

"My Lord,—If your Lordship did not know how much your welfare is my interest, in very many respects, I yet hope you could not but think it extremely and warmly my wish, from many better reasons than interest. I can scarce use so cold a word to you as gratitude, your Lordship and your family have a stronger title to me, begun from your son, and not to end with your grandson, if ever I live to see your greatgrandson. I beg to know that your Lordship is fully recovered. I am easy enough in every other article, for we are so well at home (my Mother and I), that I want little or no news from abroad,

but that of the equal health and ease of those I am to esteem and wish well.

"I have lately received a long letter from Dean Swift, in which a very affectionate mention is made of your Lordship and a friend of yours. The rest of it is spleenatic, and too philosophical for this world; I hope the Dean is fitter for the next, or he is good for neither. But there is so much wit and surly good sense in all he writes, that one can hardly wish him in any point more of one's own opinion, he sustains the contrary so well.

"Speaking of letters, puts me in mind of a complaint I forgot, when I last waited on you, to trouble you with, (for your Lordship knows I have a sort of right, by precedent, to trouble you with all my complaints; to other great men I am silent and patient, to you only a grumbler). They have whispered about the Town a story of a strange letter writ by me to the Bishop during his confinement, I have met with one or two who have seen copies of such a pretended letter, which I never writ.

"I wonder at these things, and am in the dark to find for what end, or by what persons they can be propagated. I will not longer take up your Lordship's time; I believe you know my sentiments of private respect and friendship not to be inconsistent with publick quiet and allegiance. But even the most inconsiderable man must be content thus far to share censure and slander with the most eminent. All that either you (my Lord) or I can do, is to stand acquitted in the judgment of the best and most knowing persons. If I am so in yours, and a few more such persons (which I believe I must owe to you too), I am satisfied, and so must the greatest man in the nation.

"I am ever with sincerity and respect, "My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obliged and most faithfull, humble servant,

"A. POPE."

"Twickenham, July 3, 1725.

"MY LORD,—It was my intention to put your Lordship in mind of me, not as an importunate, but as a grateful follower of you; for gratitude is the only thing I know that I may eternally pursue, without being impertinent.

"I heartily hope your Lordship finds every advantage both of mind and body, health and quiet, in perfection, and all that either the fair weather of the season, or (which is better) the fair weather of the soul, can afford you of content and satisfaction.

"I should not omit acknowledging my receipt of the Duke of Newcastle's subscription by the hands of my agent: but these are things I may forget to acknowledge to you, and yet remain brim full of acknowledgements, I have so very many of a higher nature.

"Though, as I was saying, 'twas my resolution, once at least to break in upon your retirement, and make your Lordship and my Lady a country visit upon paper, in a letter something longer than I ought; yet it now befalls (as it often does in country gentlemen's visits of civility to men in power), that the compliment is attended with some petition.

"A very extraordinary instance of this will appear in this letter. My Lord, I am in Law, and in the worst Law, Spiritual Law: and my Lord you are a party in it, in a very unexpected manner. My Lady Kneller has petitioned the Doctors Commons to pull down my Father's Monument (in which also my Mother is to lye), to make room for Sir Godfrey's; on pretence that there is no other place in the church large enough. This only reason was alledg'd in the monition which was read in the church a week since.

"And I have proof given that the said monument is not so much as begun, so may be made of any size: but she further alledges since, that I promised Sir Godfrey to do so, which is false. I formerly told your Lordship the whole truth, that he did ask me two things,—that I would write

his Epitaph, which I granted; but as to the other, of removing the tomb, I told him I apprehended it was indecent, and that my Mother's consent was requisite; after which I never saw him more.

"The utmost I said, which he might mistake for a consent, was merely not to disturb a dying man, in these very words which I can swear to: That I begged him to be easy, and I would do for him whatever I could with decency. My Lady was by me informed to the contrary, first the day after his funeral by her servant Byng, and a few weeks after by myself. And this request was not made to me till a few days before his death, when he was almost in his agony, hardly (if at all) compos mentis, and very unfit to be contradicted peremptoraly. To strengthen this pretence, she affirms that I received from Sir Godfrey some pictures on this consideration. The fact of which is that one was given me above a year before (though never to this day finished), and sent indeed about that time she mentions. And another was sent by him before I knew anything of this request of his. She has annexed this circumstance very falsely.

"Your Lordship will wonder how you can be any way concerned in all this. One of these pictures is that of myself which hangs in your library, which your Lordship well knows was an exchange of Sir Godfrey's with you for another

picture which you had long before from him, and not from me, and of which he took the honour. But I have no proof of this. I could be very glad of your Lordship's advice upon the whole: some of the chief gentlemen of this parish have entered their dissent, and signed a certificate to object to the removal of the tomb.

"My Lord Strafford, whose pew butts upon the place, has writ in strong terms to the Proctor, to declare it will be dangerous to him to have so large a monument as she proposes fixed in the wall, and in general the precedent of such removals is apprehended by them, as well as the power of the Spiritual Court to cause them.

"Mr. Pigot tells me I may have a prohibition at Common Law, even if the other Court do order a removal. He advised me to write to your Lordship, and wishes your authority and influence were employed any way to represent this matter fairly, and intercede by any proper person with the Bishop of London to put a stop hereto. What has been hitherto done in it is this. The monition was read, and I cited to appear in seven days time. Mr. Pigot employed a Proctor who appeared, Lady Kneller was ordered to give an allegation next Court day, which is this day sennight.

"If your Lordship can be the means to rid me of this trouble, or to shorten it, I am pretty sure

you will have pity on a man who has half Homer on his shoulders, and a law-suit. I am in full pursuit of my work, and 'tis the very time I should have been least interrupted. Pray, my Lord, excuse this trouble, and the most grateful wish I can make you in return is, may you never know a greater than I shall give you.

"I am, my Lord, with the sincerest respect,
"Your most obliged, and most Faithfull servant,
"A. POPE.

"My Mother is in good heart, and sincerely your servant; poor old nurse is very ill.

"Saturday night."

## "Twitnam, March 1st, 1726.

"My Lord,—I have a particular favour to beg of your Lordship, not only as it concerns a friend of mine who has been personally injured, but as it relates to what you ever have been more tender of, than any private concern, even of your friends, public justice and equity. I earnestly desire your Lordship to be present at an affair relating to a complaint against the Governor of Bermudas, of which they are to move for a hearing, next Saturday, at the Privy Council. I have cause to believe it is such an affair, as will require the notice of all honest men, and be no less agreeable to your own love of justice, than to your

particular favour so long shewn to all that is requested by,

"My Lord,

"Your most obliged, faithfull Servant, "A. POPE."

" Wednesday, April, 1727.

"My Lord,—I trouble your Lordship with the answer I had from the Attorney concerning the writings I sent for by your direction. What you judge proper to be done next by me in it, I beg your Lordship to inform me: If it require no greater haste, I would gladly stay in the country four or five days; but whenever you please to command me, I am nevertheless ready to come to town. If I had no other cause to wait on you, it is unfeignedly a sufficient one to me, to have the pleasure of assuring you, my Lord, with what truth and obligation

"I am,

"Your most faithfull and obedient Servant,
"A. POPE.

"My Mother's and my humblest respects to Lady Harcourt."

In the year 1721, Lord Harcourt appears to have endeavoured to shake off sad re-

collections, by throwing himself more particularly into public affairs.

In October of that year he received the following letters from Lord Carteret and Lord Sunderland:—

" October 5th, 1721.

"My Lord,—When Mr. Tench brought me the other day the honour of your Lordship's letter of the Ist instant, my surprise would have been equal to my concern, if he had not told me, at the same time, that I had no occasion to answer your letter, because Mr. Jeffery's warrant had been signed that day, of which he would acquaint you. As soon as the bill shall come to me, it shall not be delayed one moment, and shall be dispatched to my Lord Privy Seal by a messenger.

"Happy should I thinke myselfe, if I had greater and stronger occasions of showing with how much truth and zeal

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient Servant,

"CARTERET."

" October 10th, 1721.

"My LORD,—The Parliament being certainly to sitt to do business on the 19th, I hope your

Lordship will pardon the liberty I take in intreating you would hasten your coming up; for as the setting out well is half-in-half, so I should very much wish you could be here some time this week, before the speech is settled. I write by this post to Lord President, to beg he would hasten his return.

"I am ever with great truth and respect,
"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant, "SUNDERLAND."

In the same year that the above letter was written, Lord Sunderland resigned office, on being accused of receiving fictitious stock; and Mr. Walpole, having done all he could to defend him, consented to occupy his place \*.

Lord Harcourt at this period identified himself more closely with the policy of Walpole, without, however, surrendering his principles.

Walpole, who had long sought his assistance, was only too glad to secure his co-operation, without questioning his opinions; and he shortly afterwards testified

<sup>\*</sup> This was connected with the South Sea bubble; Walpole continued Prime Minister for twenty-one years.

his appreciation of Lord Harcourt's merits, by obtaining for him a step in the Peerage, as well as a renewal of his pension.

In 1722, Lord Harcourt was made once more a Privy Councillor, and on the 19th of August of the same year, Mr. Walpole wrote to him as follows:—

"My Lord,—Your Lordship gave me leave to give you this trouble, to desire your company here in town, to have your Lordship's advice and assistance in preparing matter for the ensuing session of Parliament. I am just come from Lord President, who is desirous to see you here by this day sennitt; but if it suits at all with your Lordship's private affairs to take a day or two more in the country, I see no inconvenience in staying till the middle of next week.

"I am in great truth and respect,
"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant, "R. WALPOLE."

The following letter from Walpole, dated Whitehall, Oct. 11, 1723, has reference to the pension:—

"MY LORD,—I send your Lordship inclosed your exchequer order for the £2,000 due to your

Lordship at Michaelmas last. Be pleased to indorse your name, and return the order to me, and the money will be paid to whomsoever shall take out the order, and call for the money. We have agreed to send the addresses of the Parliament of Ireland over to Hanover, and the answer I shall humbly suggest as proper for his Majesty to give, will be to express in generall his concern at the uneasiness this patent has given to the Parliament of Ireland, and to tell them that he will do all that is in his power to give them satisfaction. I hope, my Lord, you have found the benefit of the country, for nobody more sincerely wishes for your health and prosperity, than,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant, "R. WALPOLE.

"Lord Cooper is dead."

In this same year, 1723, Lord Harcourt used his utmost endeavours, and not without some success, to obtain a measure of relief for his old colleagues.

On the 26th of July, 1723, we find the following letter from Lord Bolingbroke:—

"MY LORD,—I think it a case of conscience to interrupt your Lordship in the enjoyment of

the pleasure of the country, which you love so well, and can follow so little. But a return of my feavour, which Dr. Mead hopes he has stopped by the Bark, makes me in haste to be going for Aix, where he thinks I may promise myself to find a radical cure for this ill habit of body.

"There are some other reasons which have arisen since your Lordship left us, that incline me to go away about Thursday or Friday sev'nnight, which term is later than your Lordship set for your return. If by any accident your return should be deferred, I must beg leave to wait on you in the country, or desire you to give me a meeting where it may be least inconvenient to your Lordship, on the road; for I cannot think of leaving England without embracing the person to whom I owe the obligation of having seen it once more. I will not descend into any particulars att present, but cannot help saying that I see some clouds rise, which it is certainly much more easy to hinder from gathering, than to dispel when gathered. I am, and shall be in all circumstances of life, and in all the countrys of the world.

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient Servant,

"BOLINGBROKE."

Another letter from Lord Bolingbroke is dated from Dawley farm, March 22nd, 1725:—

"My Lord,—Whilst I am here, troubling myself very little about anything beyond the extent of my farm, I am the subject of some conversations in Town, which one would not have expected. I'll mention one of these to your Lordship; Arthur Moore has in two several companies, answered persons who were inquisitive, whether my attainder would be repealed in this session, by saying that it could not be imagined the Government would do anything in my favour whilst I was caballing against it with Mr. Pultney.

"If this report was to be thrown into the world, Arthur Moore might with a better grace have left it to be propagated by some other emissary; and if it be designed as an excuse for leaving me in my present condition, than which none more cruel can be invented, I do assure your Lordship that the excuse shall not stand good.

"I have very much esteem for Mr. Pultney, I have met with very great civility from him, and shall on all occasions behave myself towards him like a man that is obliged to him; but, my Lord, I have no private correspondence, or even conversation with him, and whenever I appeal to the King, and beg leave to plead my cause before

him, I will take care that his Ministers shall not have the least pretence of objection to make to me in any part of my conduct. I will only say upon this occasion, that if I had caballed against them, there would have been other things said than were said, and another turn of opposition given.

"I dare say your Lordship acquits me upon this head; but I do not know if you will so easily forgive me the length of this letter upon so trifling a subject. Do in the matter what you think proper; perhaps you will mention it to my Lord Privy Seal, as I shall do when I have the honour of seeing him. My return to London will depend upon the arguing my plea in Chancery, and that cannot be long delayed.

"I am faithfully your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

"BOLINGBROKE."

The following letter was addressed by Lord Harcourt to Lord Bolingbroke. The copy kept by Lord Harcourt bears no date:—

"My Lord,—To whatever cause your Lordship may have ascribed the continuance of your persecution, I am confident you will not think it owing to the coolness of my sollicitation for you. It is certain that a more favourable con-

junction could never have happened. I have the strongest assurances of his Majesty's gracious disposition towards you, and I believe in my conscience that Lord Sunderland and Mr. Walpole are heartily and affectionately concerned for you, and grieved that nothing has been yet done for you in Parliament.

"I should not deal sincerely with your Lordship, should I endeavour to persuade you it was not in their power to have passed a Bill for recalling you during this session in the most honorable manner; the malice of a very few, and either real or pretended fears of many of the Whig party, who might possibly have been dissatisfied, and the declaration thereof sent by some persons of great names or titles, whom I believe neither my Lord S. nor Mr. W. would willingly disquiet, are, I am able to discover, the best reasons, weak as you will think them, for what has happened.

"I know not whether your Lordship could or ought to forgive me should I importunately beg you any how to preserve your temper, and give any credit to the assurance we send you from hence. I can with the greatest truth say, that such an assurance from your Lordship would give me the greatest satisfaction, not being yet able to imagine that your Lordship ought to despair. Give me leave, however, most truly to declare my opinion to you, that I am far from

having laid aside the just hope I had of your return.

"I had a long discourse concerning you two days since with Mr. Walpole. He was pleased to make the strongest declarations and professions of his concern and friendship for you; he promises to write by the same express this evening. I doubt not but he will do so, and must refer myself to what he writes.

"I must own to you that Mr. Walpole and I have some time differed concerning you during this session. He proposed to me a Bill to preserve your paternal estate for you, and to enable you to hold any personal estate you had acquired since your attainder, or might hereafter acquire; I could not easily depart from what I thought might have been as easily attained, the reversion of your attainder, but that he told me the party would not at this time bear.

"It would without doubt follow as a thing of course a small time after. How far my grasping at more than could be got may have hindered what you might have had, I cannot say, I know you will pardon me my good intentions, if it did; I can only add, that for some time past a difficulty seems to have been apprehended at the obtaining or proposing any Bill whatever for you during this session. As soon as at this time it appeared nothing of the kind was now to be attempted,

I endeavoured to represent the apparent hardship you must be under till an Act should pass.

"As to your paternal estate, Mr. Walpole seems much more sanguine than I am. He thinks the death of your father, should that happen before any Act passes for you, could be no disservice to you, he says that would of necessity bring the matter before Parliament. He assures me he would in that case openly declare and venture everything for your service, and he seems not to have the least diffidence of his succeeding for you. He desires that imagination may not give you the least disturbance.

"What I represented to Lord S. and Mr. W. in Madame Vilette's affair sensibly affected them. They could not at first apprehend it possible that Decker could act so vile a part, and therefore desired me to meet Decker with Woodford his solicitor, and discourse the affair before Lord S. and Mr. W., to which I readily consented. I met Decker accordingly, but Woodford refused to come with him, on a specious pretence that he was not an equal match to debate a matter of law with me. Decker was got to the Lord's before me, and as soon as he came declared that he was resolved not to open his mouth, or say one word good or bad whilst I should be there; however, on my coming in, and at my Lord's request stating the facts as short as I could, he

did at last break silence, being provoked to do so by what I said, which yet he did not so much as pretend to contradict.

"His first and great complaint was, how much he had lost by subscribing Madame Vilette's annuitys. My answer to it was very short, that Mr. Drummond by Madame Vilette's command forbid him to subscribe them; to which he had returned an answer that he had subscribed 'em on his own account only. He could not deny it, but said he mentioned it only to shew the hardness of his case, that he did not insist on any allowance for the loss, but thought it unreasonable that he should run the hazard of any further loss.

"That he had heard Madame Vilette was married," and if that should prove true, he might be forced to pay the money over again. How or from whom he had received that information he could not say, or that he had assurance of the marriage. He was told, however that fact might appear, it would be necessary for Mr. Drummond only to be satisfied, before he should pay the money to Madame Vilette: that Sir Mathew seemed unconcerned in it, he being a trustee only for Mr. Drummond, and that Sir M. had the less reason to concern himself in it, having

y Madame Vilette was married to Lord Bolingbroke, as his second wife.

had no other knowledge or intimation of the marriage than an uncertain rumour thereof, from he knew not whom.

"Your most faithful and obedient Servant, "HARCOURT."

The following paper, in Bolingbroke's handwriting, refers to the affair mentioned in Lord Harcourt's letter:—

"By virtue of the powers given me on the other side by the Marquise de Villette, I do hereby authorise Mr. John Drummond to agree and conclude with Sir Mathew Decker in the following manner. That the price of the bank annuitys for which Sir Mathew is accountable to the said Mr. Drummond, and Mr. Drummond is accountable to the Marquise de Villette, be fixed at ninety-seven, which will make forty-eight thousand five hundred pounds due from Sir Mathew.

"That to discharge part of this debt, the Ten Thousand pounds due from the Duke of Chandos be accepted. That for the remainder Southsea Stock be accepted at one hundred, and whereas this Stock will yield five per cent. till the year 1727, Mr. Drummond may make an allowance of one per cent. upon thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds to Sir Mathew Decker for four years, which allowance may be deducted immediately out of the capital of thirty-eight thousand

five hundred pounds which he is to pay to Mr. Drummond. This is more than Sir Mathew ought to expect from the Marquisse de Villette, and is all I can allow. Since no interest will begin to run to her profit on this sume but from midsummer, it is but reasonable that the interest which would have been due upon the annuitys, should be made good to her up to that time.

"If Sir Mathew does not like this proposal, Mr. Drummond may accept from him forty-eight thousand five hundred pounds in ready money, or thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds in ready money, and the Duke of Chandos's Mortgage for ten Thousand. August 12, 1723.

"BOLINGBROKE."

"Je prie Monsieur John Drummond de disposer des cinquante mille livres sterling que jay dans les Annuites d'Angleterre a quattre pour cent, selon les ordres que luy en donnera par ecrit Mi Lord de S<sup>r</sup> Jean Vicomte de Bolingbroke, et je promets de ratifier toutte les foit que besoin en sera les dits ordres de mi Lord Bolingbroke, aussy bien que de remettre a Sieur John Drummond la reconnoissance que jay de luy de ces cinquante mille livres sterling, datt'ée de Paris le 28 de Decembre, 1719, quand besoin en sera; fait a la Tour, ce 20 Jeun, 1723.

"MARCILLY DE VILLETTE."

In 1723, Lord Harcourt was made a Lord Justice, to represent the King during his absence in Hanover; and this office was annually conferred upon him during the remainder of George the First's life.

In June, 1727, the King died during his residence abroad, and Lord Harcourt was one of those who attended the first Council of George the Second, which was held at Leicester House <sup>2</sup>. Parliament was prorogued on the 17th of July.

On the 19th of June, Lord Harcourt had written the letter which follows to Sir Robert Walpole:—

"This evening Mr. Moore came to see me. He expressed himself with great concern lest somewhat I said to you in the Council chamber at our late meeting there might have given you just cause of dissatisfaction. Nothing could have more surprised me than such a account.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Leicester House, which used to be a desert, was thronged from morning to night like the Change at noon. But Sir Robert Walpole walked through these rooms as if they had been still empty. His presence, that used to make a crowd wherever he appeared, now emptied every corner he turned to."—Lord Hervey's Memoirs of the First Days of the Reign of George the Second.

"From the first moment I entered into his late Majesty's service, my zealous endeavours to promote it were never wanting, and I have often pleased myself with an opinion that you have always thought those endeavours sincere, and had therefore honoured me with some share of your friendship and esteem. Upon the late surprising news a, which was brought to me about 3 in the morning, you would not believe me should I not tell you that my first cool thoughts were touching my own affairs, but it is with the greatest truth I can assure you my second were upon yours: on my return to London I ordered Rock to find you out, if possible, either at Chelsea or in Arlington Street, before I should come to Town, and to learn when and where you would give me leave to wait on you.

"I had little more to have said to you, than to have expressed my just sense of all your favours, and my earnest desire to continue to receive the honour of your commands. Could you think me capable in any thing of promoting the public interest or yours, I beg you to believe that I shall never depart from those sentiments. Though I was in very great disturbance when I mett you at Leicester House, yet I cannot think I was out of my senses, therefore I am willing to believe Mr. Moore mistook you.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The death of George the First.

"If you really took any thing ill which I then said, I am unable to guess what it was. Let me therefore entreat you, when you can find so much leisure, to let me know where and at what time I may wait on you to assure you that there is no man living who more sincerely or affectionately wishes the continuance and increase of your honour and happiness than, Sir,

"Your most faithful and obedient Servant, "HARCOURT."

In answer to this letter Walpole invited Lord Harcourt to visit him; and accordingly, he set out for Chelsea on the 23rd of July. When he arrived at Walpole's house he was seized with paralysis, and was immediately taken back to Harcourt House in Cayendish Square.

Sir John Evelyn, who was brother to Mrs. Harcourt, the Chancellor's daughter-inlaw, made the following entry in his Diary, for an extract from which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. William Evelyn of Wotton:—

"July 23. As I was dressing to goe to church this morning, being Sunday near eleven, came

a servant from my Lady Harcourt to acquaint me my Lord was dying, upon which I immediately went to Cavendish Square, where I found his Lords<sup>p</sup> very ill in bed. Being to goe to Cockthorp y<sup>e</sup> next morning early, he went to Chelsea at eight this morning to take his leave of S<sup>r</sup> Robert Walpole, and just as he was stepping out of his chariot, Mr. Rock his secretary, who was with him, thought he did not make much use of his left leg, however he made a shift to gett into the house and satt down; but when S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Walpole came to him, he cou'd not rise, nor speak to be understood, upon which he was put into his coach and carried home, and had five men to carry him upstairs.

"When I came he was perfectly sensible and cou'd speak, but not plain, his mouth being drawn aside. Dr. Mead ordered him to be blooded, and gave him *Hiera picra*, and in the evening he was Cupt.

"July 24. This afternoon, when I stood by poor L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt's bed, he ask'd me after ye Cornish elections, and seemed to like to hear news, and I told him that of L<sup>d</sup> Berkeley and M<sup>r</sup>. Chetwin being removed from ye Admiralty; and Sr Robt Walpole, whom he sent for, coming in ye afternoon, he talk'd very easily to him, as Sr Robt told me himself when he came from him, and Dr. Mead thought him so much

better in all respects that he had hopes of his recovery.

"July 25. This morning his pulse was so much worse that he gave him over.

"July 29. However, he did not dye till two this morning, having born his sickness with great patience and resignation, and received the Sacrament two days before, and given his Grandson very good advice. His case was a dead palsey, and he was but in his sixty-seventh year, and I thought likely to live many years as any one of his age.

"The night before he was seized, my son and I were with him near an hour, and never imagin'd his end was so near. About twelve this day his will was open'd and read by Mr. Rock, consisting of five skins of parchment by which he appoints Mr. Rowney of Oxford, Mr. Mead the lawyer, brother of the Physitian, Mr. Rock and myself, Executors and Guardians in conjunction with my Lady Harcourt, to whom he gives £1,000 legacy, all her jewels and dressing-plate, the use of all his furniture in town and country for life; to his Grand-daughters my Nieces £5,000 a-piece.

"August 3. I sett out with my Nephew ye young Lord Harcourt to attend his Grandfather's corpse into Oxfordshire. Hee lay at Nettlebed.

"August 4. About six this evening the dismal ceremony was performed in Stanton Harcourt

church, the Pall was born by ye Earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, and Abington, Sr John Doyley, Sr Robt Walter, Sr Robert Jenkinson, and Sr Jonathan Cope, Baronets, and Mr. Clark of All Souls; ye young Lord, supported by Sr John Stonhouse and myself, being chief mourner, followed by Mr. Rowney, Mr. Jennens, &c.

"The body was deposited in a vault under ye chancel belonging to his family, where there is a monument of one that was Kt. of ye Garter in Ed. the IVths time, and his Lady with a bracelet resembling ye Garter on one of her arms, which is very particular. I saw there the Latin inscription on my brother Harcourt, with Pope's four lines under it, in an handsome piece of marble, with a neat moulding round it.

"The coach ye young Lord, Mr. Jennens, Mr. Rock, and myself were going in to Cockthrop, two miles further, was overturned by ye carelessness of ye Coachman and Postillon, and I received a considerable blow on ye left side of my face, which swelled a good deal, and was very painfull; but ye rest of ye company escaped without any

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b The inscription now in existence upon the marble, consists of two stanzas by Pope, both in English, as before recorded. The only Latin epitaph in the church is by Congreve; it is in the Chancel, and commemorates one of the Huntingdon family. Query, what has become of the Latin epitaph to Simon Harcourt, which was also mentioned by Lord Harcourt in his letter to Pope?

hurt except Mr. Rock, who complained of soreness in his bones ye next day.

"August 5. After seeing ye library, ye fine apartments furnished with Crimson velvet, and ye new offices, built since I was there in 1721, and walking round ye garden, I sett out for London with Mr. Jennens, who I carried to Withame, where I dined with my Aunt d, his mother, and in ye evening gott to Henley."

The following is an extract from the Parish register at Stanton Harcourt:—

"July the 28th, 1727. The Right Honourable Simon Lord Viscount Harcourt, and Baron of Stanton Harcourt, was buried in Linnen, &c.: and notice given that the penalty enjoined by Act of Parliament was answered,

"J. PARSONS, Minister."

Lord Harcourt had two daughters who grew up to woman's estate; the elder, Anne, married John Barlow, Esq., of Slebeck in Pembrokeshire; the second, Arabella, married Herbert Aubrey, Esq., of Clay Hanger in Herefordshire.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Wittenham.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Mrs. Jenyns was the youngest daughter of Sir Samuel Moyer, and sister of Mrs. Le Bas, whose daughter young Lord Harcourt married.

Lord Harcourt married, as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Spencer, and widow of Richard Anderson, Esq., who was second son of Sir R. Anderson, of Pendley in Derbyshire.

She was three years older than Lord Harcourt; she died in June, 1724, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, and was buried at Stanton Harcourt.

I have found the following curious document, written by Lord Harcourt's secretary, and which appears to have anticipated all the arrangements that were to be carried out when Lady Harcourt died:—

"June 14, 1724.

"First, If my Lady dyes on or before Wednesday next, her funeral shall be at Stanton Harcourt on Tuesday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of this Instant June; if my Lady dyes after Wednesday next, her funeral shall be on that day sen'night on which she shall happen to dye.

- "2. Will. Jones will be left in Town, and immediately on my Lady's death must be sent to Cockthrop to give notice of it.
  - "3. Mr. Friend must be ordered to provide an

handsome Hearse and six good horses, and three mourning coaches with six horses to each of 'em, and four horsemen in mourning to be sent with them.

"4. There must be a leaden coffin, to be put within another coffin which is to be covered with good black velvet with gilt nails and hinges, and a gilt-brass plate with the following Inscription on it:—

"'The Rt. Honble. Elizabeth Lady Vicountess Harcourt, Second wife of Simon Lord Viscount Harcourt, dy'd the day of in the year of our Lord 1724, and in the sixty-seventh year of her age.'

"5. The Hearse and Mourning Coaches must take up the Corps at three in the morning the day before the funeral, and carry it that night to Nettlebed, which is thirty-three miles. The next day they have but eighteen miles to Stanton Harcourt, where they must be by four of the clock in the afternoon, there being a ferry to cross over a mile before they come to the church, which will take up the Hearse and all the Coaches about half an hour's time.

"6. The Coffin must be taken out of the Hearse at the Manor-house, where the Pall-bearers will be ready to attend it to the Church.

"There is not any place of entertainment at Stanton Harcourt, or for the Hearse or Coaches to sett up, so that they must all return back to Abingdon, or as much further as they please, as soon as the body is carryed to church; except only one mourning coach, which is to carry Mrs. Field and me to Cockthrop, from whence they must go the same evening to Kingston Inne or Abingdon.

"7. Mr. Friend must provide a carriage to be at Stanton Harcourt a day before the funeral, in which Lady Evelyn will direct several suits of mourning and some other small things to be carryd down, and Mr. Friend may send in it such gloves as shall be ordered for the Funeral, and also mourning rings.

"8. Lady Evelyn is desired to be peak thirty-five gold enamelled rings of 20<sup>d</sup> weight with this inscription, 'E. Viscountess Harcourt, ob. Jun. A.D. 1724. Æt. Suæ 67.;' and six other gold rings not enamelled, each of 10<sup>d</sup> weight, which rings must be of a pretty large size. Let 28 of the 20<sup>d</sup> rings, and the six ten shilling rings be sent down by Mr. Friend's carriage the day before the funeral.

"Shammy gloves, scarves, and hatbands, for six Bearers and for D<sup>r</sup>. Blechinden and Mr. Parsons the Minister, and least any other person may be there, bring a few more shammy gloves and hatbands.

"9. A chief mourner's cloak, and a cloak for Mr. James Stonhouse and Mr. Jennens.

- "10. Ordinary gloves for Hearsemen, and three coachmen, and four postillions.
- "11. Eight doz. of large black gloves for men tenants.
- "12. Three doz. of black gloves for women tenants.
  - "13. Four pair of women's shammy.
- "14. Five yards of black cloth, the best, must be carryd down for the pulpit cloth, and as much black bays as is necyssary for the reading-desk, and as much common black cloth as will cover two coffins which are now in the Vault, and must be covered the day before the funeral.
- "15. Buckram escutcheons for the hearse as soon as they are over the ferry, and other buckram escutcheons for pulpit and reading-desk, and silk escutcheons for the Pall. Qry. what number sufficient.
- "At Mr. Harcourt's funeral twenty-four buckram escutcheons were put on the hearse, and twelve buckram escutcheons on the pulpit and reading-desk, and fifteen silk escutcheons on the Pall, and twelve buckram escutcheons to be given to the tenants, of which six are to be given to the bearers.
- "16. Mourning cloaths must be made for my Lord, for Mr. Wall, the cook, Will. Little, John Porter, Will. Jones, and Will Hyde, all these cloaths must be sent down by Mr. Friend, so as

to be at Stanton Harcourt before noon the day before the funeral.

- "17. Mourning must be also made for John Kinsbury, the postillion, and Mrs. Harcourt's man, but 'twill be time enough if their mourning be ready by the time Mrs. Harcourt comes out of town with the mourning coach, and Rock will give 'em Notes to Gilbert the hatter for hatts.
- "18. Master Harcourt must also have proper mourning, as to which Mrs. Harcourt is desired to give directions, and for linnen and anything else he wants. Let Cave make him a perriwig and lett out his present best wig.
- "19. All the coloured Liverys and lac'd hatts must be sent down by the first opportunity.
- "20. Mrs. Harcourt's man must find out W<sup>m</sup> Thomas, my Lord's shoemaker, and order him to make my Lord a pair of shammy shoes, which must be sent down in Mr. Friend's carriage.
- "21. No gloves, hatbands, rings, or scarves to be distributed but by Mr. Rock.
- "22. Let West the coachmaker in Broad-street be sent for to Lady Evelyn as soon as may be after my Lady's decease, and ordered to provide a mourning coach for my Lord with the uttmost expedition, according to the proposal which West made, which was that he should provide cloth, and everything necessary for the coach at his own expense, and that my Lord

should pay him £35 for it, and West to have the coach again at the end of the year; and that he would also put a pair of harness, to be used in Town, into mourning.

"West offered that my Lord should buy the cloth himself if he pleased, and he would abate for it out of the £35; but my Lord thinks there will be less trouble if he were to provide the mourning, so as he first shews the cloth to Lady Evelyn for her approbation.

"My Lord's coronets must be put on the top of the coach, and either new ones made for the purpose, or those on my Lord's coach taken off and blacked. West promised he would get the coach done in a fortnight at furthest, and he must be prepared to do so, Mrs. Harcourt staying in Town on purpose for it.

"The brass work of the harness must be all black'd, and, in order to it, they will be sent to Town in a week's time; but there is not any hurt in covering a pair of harness with black cloth for the Town—that may be let alone till further orders."

The entry in the Stanton Harcourt register stands thus:—

"June 23, 1724. The Right honourable the Lady Elizabeth Viscountess Harcourt, and wife

of the Right honorable Lord Viscount Harcourt, and Baron of Stanton Harcourt, was buried in linnen, and notice given of it to me, June the 26<sup>th</sup>, and that the penalty enjoined by the Act of Parliament for that purpose was answered.

"Jos. Parsons, Minister."

Lord Harcourt married thirdly, in October, 1724, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Vernon, of Twickenham Park, Middlesex, and widow of Sir John Walter, of Sarsden in Oxfordshire. His third wife survived him. He had no family by either of his two last wives.

He appears to have been very much attached to his grandchildren. The following letter was written to him by his granddaughter "Patty." She married when she grew up, George, first Lord Vernon, as his third wife. She became, on the failure of the male line, ancestress of the only remaining descendants of Lord Harcourt, and was great-grandmother of the present possessor of the Harcourt estates:—

"DEAR GRANDPAPA,—It was with a great deal of pleasure that I heard that your Lordship, and my Lady, and Aunt, were well in Town. We came here yesterday about four o'clock with very sorrowfull hearts, after having been in many perils; and be assured, my Lord, we shall always be content wherever you please that we should be, tho' certainly our hearts will always be with you.

"We have been in the garden, there has been a great blite, there is very few cherrys, but those are very fine; there is a pretty many peaches and necttrons, but they fall in great quantitys off the trees; there will be great plenty of very fine grapes, both here and at Stanton Harcourt, and there is scarce a dozen plombs in the whole garden; 'tis in great order.

"I heartily wish for your Lordship and my dear grandmamma here. Sir Robert and Mrs. Walter met us here yesterday, and has insisted upon our coming, tho' indeed we go with some reluctance, not first having your leave for it; for nothing would be a more sensible grief to me, than to incur either your Lordship's or my Lady's displeasure; I desire to express my sincere gratitude to your Lordship for those many kindnesses, which are more than I can either name or return, but I will, as well as I am able, as long as I live, strive to shew I am thoroughly sensible of them,

by paying to your Lordship and my Lady all imaginable duty.

"I am, my dear Grandpapa,
"Your Lordship's most obedient and
dutifull Granddaughter,
"M. HARCOURT.

"Pray make my duty with all respect acceptable to my Lady and Aunt."

" Cavendish Square, June 17, 1727.

"DEAR PATTY,—I was much concern'd at our leaving you in so much affliction at Henley. We sent you forward with an intention to follow you ourselves very soon, but I now find that cannot be.

"I have therefore order'd Bew upon Tuesday morning next early, to go from Oxford to Cockthrop to bring you away from thence next morning in my charriot. He has promised to be at Cockthrop with four horses soon after six on Tuesday morning next, and I believe will be ready to bring you away in an hour's time, and carry you to Henley that night, and bring you hither to dinner on Wednesday next. You will be here full time enough to consult with your Aunts about your mourning, in which you should be by next Sunday sennight.

"You will have longer time to consider what preparation you are to make about the Coronation of their Majesties, which I intend both Nanny and you shall see. We are all very well, but have been in a great hurry, and heartily wish you a good journey to London: the groom is sent down to wait upon you back, and Jack, your helper, is sent down to attend you to Town as your Footman. My service to Nanny.

"I am, my dear child, "Your truly affectionate Grandfather,

"HARCOURT.

"The Earl of Scarborough is declared Master of the Horse. Pray take a view of the gardens, and bring me word what fruit is in them, or like to be about five or six weeks hence."

Lord Harcourt had all his life been a hard worker. He was always unsparing of his health and eyesight, which both suffered materially from the strain put upon them. In later life he was lusty in person and of a fresh complexion.

There are two pictures of him at Nuneham by Sir Godfrey Kneller, one painted in 1702, when he was Solicitor-General, the other when he was Lord Chancellor. Both these pictures represent Lord Harcourt as possessed of an open, good-humoured countenance, with an intellectual brow, and fearless eye.

He may be looked upon as having founded afresh the fortunes of the House of Harcourt in England, and he is an ancestor to whom his descendants may well look back with pride.

When Lord Harcourt was a young man, the following notice appeared in the "London Post" of June 1st, 1700:—

"Two days ago Mr. Simon Harcourt, a lawyer of the Temple, coming to Town in his coach, was robbed by two highwaymen on Hownslow heath of £50, his watch, and whatever they could find valuable about him; which being perceived by a country man on horseback, he dogged them to a distance, and they taking notice thereof, turned and rid up towards him; upon which, he counterfeiting the drunkard, rid forward, making antic gestures; and being come up with them, spoke as if he clipped the King's English with having drunk too much, and asked them to drink a pot, offering to treat them if they would but drink with him: whereupon they believing him to be really drunk, left him, and went forward again, and he still followed them till they came

to Cue ferry, and when they were in the boat discovered them, so that they were both seized and committed: by which means the Gentleman got again all they had taken from him."

A contemporary gave the account which follows, of Lord Harcourt in later life; it is taken from the "Gentleman's Magazine:"—

"Ld. Harcourt is of a very ancient and good family in Berkshire (Oxfordshire), always remarkable for its loyalty to the Crown, and its aversion to presbytery. After some years' study at Oxford, this gentleman went to the Temple, and made so great a progress in the law, that he was scarce sooner admitted to plead than admired for his pleading.

"He was one of Dr. Sacheverell's Counsel, and so distinguished himself in his admirable defence of that gentleman, that even his enemies must own that he is not only one of the best lawyers, but one of the best orators also of this age.

"Her Majesty being present at this trial, could not but be extremely pleased with one, who, with so much zeal and strength, vindicated her prerogative, and asserted the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, at a time when the House of Commons judged neither of them lawful or necessary. "On the turning out of my Lord Cowper, this gentleman was made Lord Chancellor and Lord Keeper; and though his predecessor was scarce to be exceeded in a discharge of that trust, yet we may not unjustly say, that he was at least equalled by his successor. He was created a peer by Queen Anne, and continued Chancellor during that Princess's reign.

"On the accession of King George to the British throne, this gentleman was dismissed from all his employments, and they were restored to my Lord Cowper.

"He is a fair, lusty man, has been handsome; he has so much learning and eloquence, and so sweet a delivery, that he may not improperly be styled a second Cicero; is extremely generous and good-humoured; has been extravagant, but is now grave, and lives within bounds; hard study, and too much fatiguing himself in his business, have both spoiled his eyes and his constitution. He is about sixty years old."

The following paper illustrates a custom of putting houses into mourning, which is now obsolete.

It is entitled a "Paper of proposals for putting the House in mourning on the death of Lord Harcourt." "Mourning proposed to be furnished the R<sup>t</sup> Honble. the Lady Harcourt att her House in Cavendish Square, viz.:—

The Dressing Roome with fine Whitish Grey Cloth Hangings,

2 p<sup>r</sup> Window Curtins and Vallente, Chaires covered the same, and one Settia.

Her Ladys<sup>ps</sup> Dressing Chamber next the Garden with dark minium Grey cloth,

Cloth hangings from ceiling to the ground, 2 pr Windo Curtins and Vallente, 3 dore Curtins or Portiers to the ground, 6 Chaires and a Settea, deep cases of the same, the Floor Covered all over with cloth.

The Great Dinening room

12 Chairs covered with light grey cloth, and one Settea.

The Eating Parlour backwards

12 chaires, Seats cov<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> fine cloth, blew ground, a settea and easy chair, with a cushion the same, 2 p<sup>r</sup> Window Curtins, and Vallente.

The Great Stair Case

Hung deep w<sup>th</sup> black Bays from y<sup>e</sup> ceiling to the surbass, a border of Bays hung round the Halle.

All the Perticulars mentioned within this black line are to remain use 12 months.

The Large Dinening Roome wth dark minium Grey Cloth hanging to ye ground,

3 p<sup>r</sup> Window Curtins Vallente, 2 Dore Curtins or Portiers, 7 chairs covered the same, and a settea.

All these Perticulars are to remain up 6 months.

The Grey Cloth Bedchamber with a fine cloth bed compleat.

The Great Drawing Room.

3 p<sup>r</sup> window Curtins and Vallente, 12 Chaires, an easy chair, a Settea.

These are her Lady<sup>ps</sup> goods.

Having now completed my memoir of Lord Chancellor Harcourt, I shall proceed to give a short notice of his son; but I shall first insert a few quaint letters which I have laid hands upon, written by divers members of Lord Harcourt's family.

From Mrs. Wiseman to Mrs. Harcourt, second wife of Simon Harcourt (afterwards Lord Harcourt):—

" March the 7, 1693.

"It is so long, Deare Sistor, sence i ret to you, that, tho i had a mind to repare my folt severall

times, i hardly know how to begen; but i consedered you are to good to be angorry for what proseads from my misfortun, and not from a forgetfullness of my frinds, wich i hop i shall never begilty of; but, as you and many others have a natturall avertion to cheese and other things. so i have to a pen and ink, wich has bin the tro reson of my long silance; I ned not aquant you of my mesfortun, and of the death of my pore Brother, wich my Sistor gave you an a count of; but Sr John has had to wind fals to comford him for the los of his son, on d being a leveing of 4 core pound a yeare, the Other the death of the Old Lady, whoo died the 7 of March, after haveing lane 3 monts in a langushing condistion; she has mad me Unkel James sol excettattor; and i heare she has left Sr John har stok of cows and horses, and my Sistor Peg on hundred pound, and my Brother John fifty; on out not to rejoys at the death of anny body, but i can not say i am sory, whare so good an advanteg coms to them that i have always found my frinds; be sids, that house is more convenant for a constance larg fammily, and you know self entres e gos far, for, sence my mesfortun, in the lose of a very good hosbon, and, in hom i thought my self so happy, that, be sid the sit f of my frinds, i wished for

no thing more; but, i find wee are but to tast happynes in this world, to make us more sensable of our lose, and by that, to take of our lovs from this unsarten world, and fex them on that wich is more lasting; my dessir is to contennu with my Mother, as long as she leves, and i put har to no inconvenance, the contrey suting my yumor bettor than the town, wich i dessiar not to stay in, more then busnes and the seeing my Sistor Harcourt requires; for i have sen anof of the pleassours of the town to despis them, and to see tis in van to honnt after sajtisfaxtion in croud and noyse.

"A description of the quens Funiral i will not pretend to geve you, it being prented, and so, i beleve, with you by this s, my Mother is never very well, and, i am in som feare, removing will geve har som could, tho i beleve wee shall not remove yet—it is know time to relese you, haveing no thing more but my sarvis to my Brother and yo self, and am for ever

"Your affextionate Sistor,

"M. WISEMAN.

"My Mother geves har love to you and your spous, and min to my nece Betty."

<sup>g</sup> And so I believe you have it by this time.

## From Mrs. Harcourt to her Sister:—

"Nov. 1693.

"I recived yours Dear Sister, and am glad you dow not find noe ille efectes from the foges this winter. I am very glad you have mett with sume of yr old acquaintance, and hope she may have incoragement enough to continew thare; I have bin all a bought the town, and find it very difecult to gitt so much of a sorte; but I have found a parcell I belive may sarve you, if you lick it, the collers are bufe, and a cherey with sume lettle flowers between the strips, but thay will cut noe pattorns; the price is tow an fortty shillings a pece, and thay tell me you must have five peces to line a bead and make a quilt; if you disine to have it, pray lett me know as sown as you can, for fear it may be disposed of, and I dow not see any thing elce that looks so well for that purpose.

"All our freinds hear are well, but I dow not hear my sister is towards a great belley; I am glad y<sup>r</sup> Spouse is so well, for he wrights much after the old rate, and if Mol see his letter she would be full of anger with him; pore James is come upe to be a truper h, and he says this town is the nastis place, and stinks so, it ready to

poysen him; for you know he never shuts his mouth, that every thing gose down.

"All hear present thare service to you and my Brother, and my spouse thanks him for his kind packett, which was very wellcome, and he will very sudingly retturn him in the same kinde. I hope, dear sister, if hear be any thing I can sarve you in, you will command

"Your affecttionate Sister,

"ELIZA. HARCOURT.

" Nov. the 12.

"If you please you may save me mony by directing y' letters to M'. Harcourt k."

# From Lady Harcourt to her Sister:—

"July the 27.

"I had wrot tow my Dear Sister before I left the town, but, between taking my goods down in Essixe Street, an directing the workmen in Norfolke Street, I was in a parfect hurrey. I was yesterday tow see blenhime, it is a wonderfull thinge to see gardens come to soe great perfecttion in soe short a time, but they are soe large, it will imploye a hundred peple tow keep them in order; for the house, thar is but one wing don, it will be a fine pile of building, but very large; the wals are soe thicke that it looks

k Being a Member of Parliament he received his letters free.

lick a prison; thar was a bove eaight hundreed men at work, an yet thay say it cannot be finnished this 3 or 4 years; the prospect is very fine every way.

"I yesterday recived a letter from my spouse, which gave me an a count that his Bro<sup>r</sup> Phillip<sup>1</sup>, had shot himself; if he had dyed a naturall death, th familye would have had case to be glad he was gon, for he was allways made with drink; we have had more instances of that kind of late then ever was hard of.

"I shuld be very glad tow hear my nephew" had the place you spoke of, for thar is not any body wishes the familye better then my self; I intend to be in town a bought 3 weeks hence, an hope you will not be long after, for I shall thinke it very dull haveing none of my freinds in town. All freinds heare are well, an give thar sarvice to you an all th good company, accept the same from

"Your affectt. Sister,

"ELIZ. HARCOURT.

"We expect my son every day; I heare my daughter got well to her iorneys end, an is lick tow goe one with her great beley."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Half-brother to the Lord Chancellor, son of his father's second wife, Miss Lee of Ankerwyck.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>m</sup> Young Evelyn.

# From Lady Harcourt to her Sister:—

"June 11th, 1722.

"You may belive, dear Sister, wee are in the utmost concarn for the death of pore Jack Barloe. I hope God will support my Daugh under this great affliction; an, when she considers he was whare he had the best advice, an is sattisfied thar was as much care taken of him as if she had bin thar herself, I hope she will bare it as she ought to dow. Her father sent a Sarvant to her to prepare her for it, with as comefortable a letter as could posable be wrot upon soe malloncolley a subictt.

"My Lord is under all the fears emaigenable for Simon"; sumetimes he thinks of taking him a way, then he considers, if he puts him any ware else, he may be ille, and then he is farder from advice, an he is shure he is whare he has as much care taken of him, as if he was at home; and the masters love him, an he licks them; but sume peple tell him Wesminster is an unholesume air, soe I think he is almost disstractted a bought it.

"But I must Dear Sister beg the favour of you to bye me a sute of morning such as you an Lady Evelyn shall thinke proper for me, an a night gown, an pety cote; pray send my pety cote to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>n</sup> Grandson of Lord Harcourt, afterwards the first Earl Harcourt.

Mrs. Willer to be maid, I belive she knows my lenth, but she had better make it tow longe then to short. An I disire you to send my manto to Scoot<sup>o</sup>, at our house, an she will send it to be maid; as for my night-gown p, it may be maid by the lettle manto woman, if she is a live, an the petty cote.

"Pray send me a black fane; as for lining I have cambrick enoufe to make, soe must disire you to send me a pattorn for night cloethes an ruffalls. I have one thinge more, I must disire you to ask Lady Evelyn wheather it is nesseary to put our liverey sarvants in morninge, he being but a child.

"My Lord was sent for to S<sup>r</sup> John Walter one fryday; last night he come home; he left him in a very sad condishon, for he nither knows any body, nor speaks one word of scence, yett has strenth enouf to walk a bought his rome for an houre or 2 togather, soe that he may hold in this maner for sume time.

"Sister Jennins ioyns with me in our sarvice to you, an all the good faimilye. My daughr disirs her duty an sarvice, an thanks for yr kindness to Simon. Pardon this trouble

"From y<sup>r</sup> most affectt. Sister an humble Sarvant, "E. HARCOURT.

° Scott.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>p</sup> This simply means an evening gown.

"Cence I wrote this, my Lord says he had wrote to  $S^r$  John abought the sarvant, soe you will thinke me very impertinent."

## From Lady Harcourt to her Sister:-

"June 26th, 1722.

"I recived all my morning one Saturday last, and licke them very well; it wanted very little olteration; and now I must return my Deare Sister thanks for the great trouble I have given you, and disire to know what I am indeptted to you.

"My Lord an I disine being in town a bought a fortnight or 3 weeks before Barholomewtide for a few days, an take Preashus q down with use; I am very glad he is soe well, an think our selfs very much obledged to Lady Evelyn an you for your great care of him. Wee have not hard from my pore daugh Barloe, cence our man was thar which carried the malloncolley news of the child's death; but my Lord has sent Dr. Mead's letter too them, which I hope will give them sume sattisfacttion, when thay here thar was not a posabiletye of saveing his life.

"I am very sorrey you are obledged to spend the best part of the sumer in town, but wee have had no reason to complaine of heate yett.

q 'Precious' was the pet name for Lord Harcourt's grandson, Simon.

"I am very glad the younge Duches of Malbowrow is soe greatley prouided for, an hop she will not nectlect making a hansume settlement uppon Mast Charls. I am sorrey th widow is soe much out of order, I thought her in a diclining way when I come out of town; I am shure her children would have a great lose in her, an soe would my brother Dick: I am sorrey my nece Treaver has bin detained in town bye her unhappey buisness; I heartyley wish her a good end of it, but belive thar will not be much more don this Sumer. We all ioyne in humble sarvice to you Sr John an my Lady, an belive

"I am,

"Yr most affectt. Sister an Humble Sarvant, "E. HARCOURT.

"My daugh an the children give that duty to you."

From Mr. W. Draper to his Sister (Mrs. Evelyn):—

· " August 7th, 1710.

"DEARE SISTER,—The newes of my Nieces safe delivery came very welcome to all here. We did not drink the new Xtian's health with any regrett for not being a son. We hope that is a joy in reserve for you and her against another

 $<sup>^{\</sup>mathtt{r}}$  Lady Harcourt was a Spencer, and related to the second Duke of Marlborough.

yeare; I cannot tell how Mr. Harcourtt looks upon the Baby for proveing a girll, because it was not my own circumstance; but I hope his Spse will, like mine, bring him a son, for every daughter.

"I promise my self that the Bearer hereof, will give us the satisfaction of hearing, that my Neices, and the unknown little Lady, are in an encreasing way of health.

"All here rejoyce in every thing that gives you satisfaction, an encrease of weh is ever heartily wishd for

"By, dear Sister,

"Yr affectionate humbe Servt,
"WILL" DRAPER.

"We received on Monday last some very good venison from Hampton court, which I doubt not was my Nephew Evelyn's kind present, tho the bearer there of never mentioned his name; I begg his acceptance of thanks, and that he will pardon my not sending them sooner."

# From Mrs. Jennens to Mrs. Evelyn:-

"Pray beleve me, Deare Sistor, nothing could obleag me, or give me more sattisfaxtion, then your kind lettors, but the happines of your good companny, wich i leve in hops of this summor; but, if you make me not so happy, will if a t life

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mrs. Harcourt.

except of my Sis harcourts kind invitation to har house, on porpus to inioy the companny of my frends; and retorn my thanks for your kind consarn for my health, and am at present pretty well, for a good day or 2 spent in the garden dos me, i find, more good, and i sensabely find more bennyfit by storing u, and being in the are, then i ded by all the poticarrys gave me in town; so resove to spend my monny in the garden, and in the Lottorry, and not give it to Doctors, the account you have sent of the Lottorry, occastions me to beg you will excuse a fardor trouble i must give you a bout it, wich is, to inquir what day the Lots will begin giveing out, and to take out 10 for me the forst day, for i desiar to take the advantage of the Discount a lowed for present paymen; half the hundred pounds my Sis Cathrine puts in; har part, i quistion not but the Children will have in the end, if she gets anny bennyfit, so beg you will take care that wee lose not the opertunyty, i will likewise send the monny for the Chars\*, when you let me know what thay cost.

"Pray give my sarvis and thanks to your son for the book, wich i intend to studdy much, for i am very fond of planting, and desin, if i leve y, to fill up the groun ware anny thing will gro, for i had rether have trees then fine clouse z, so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>u</sup> Moving about. <sup>x</sup> Shares. <sup>y</sup> Live. <sup>2</sup> Clothes.

shall have littell consarn about fasshonns. I desiar you will by us too quartorns of boohe Thee, for wee drink som every day, i am myself bettor when i dow, and she is so kind as to ioyn with me for all such thing, therfore desire it in too parsels, and what it coms to; i am as shamed to give my frends so much truble, but know your goodness will pardon

> "Your obleaged and truly affectionate Sis, "M. JENNENS.

"Feborry the 18.

"Pray my sarvis to your dartor, and love to the lettell ons; my Sis likewise give har sarvis to you, and Betty har doty.

" For the widdow Mrs. Evelyn at the Post offis in Lumber Streat in London."

Mrs. Jennens to Mrs. Evelyn:—

" Jan. 30th.

"I reseved both my deare Sistors kind letors, tho not so sown as by the date i should; and have also reseved the charis, wich are com very safe, and give you manny thanks for getting them, for i like them very well; I sower a had ansered your lettors, but the sharp wether wee have had for all most this 3 weaks, has given me such a could and pain in my side, that I could

not ly in my beed with out my stays, or dow anny thing; and at present have a plastor on my side, and can not ly on it, but hop, when worm wether coms, i shall get quit well of it; but at present the wether is very could and frosty.

"I heard last weak that my neve Harcourt was very ill of a fevor, but hop it is not tru; i should be very glad to heare my nece ware a breading, for non more sinserly wishes har a boy than myself.

"I often wist i could inioy more of my deare sistors companny, but the town life will, i am sattisfied, not a gre with my health at all, so must in dever to be sattisfied till Sumor with hearing from you; and then hop to be so happy as to have your good companny in the contrey; in the mene time, wish you health, and a happy knew yeare, and many more,

"And am,

"Your senserly affecttionate and obleaged Sis, "M. JENNENS.

"Pray my kind love and sarvis to your son and dartor, and to the lettel ons; and tell my neve, and if he will be so kind as to send me his grandfather book of gardening b, if sent by petton's coach, directed for me, it will com safe, and esspesally if ordored to be left at Clifton, at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Evelyn's Sylva.

Smith shop; perton lys at the Saroson's head in Friday streat, and coms out on Wensdays and Satordays; i never see the publick knows o, thinking it not worth my being at the charge of having it sent, and, not storing out, have no Opportunyti of hearing what is in it from others.

"January 30th."

## From Mrs. Jennens to Mrs. Evelyn:-

"DEARE SISTOR,—I give you many thanks for your kind present of Chocolat, but, desiring to be in town on Wensday senet, had defered retorning my thanks till i say you; but, my Bro harcourt being heare on Wensday last in ordor to setel things, but was so ill that he could dow nothing, and he having bin intirly trusted by me in the manigment of all my consarns, must thare fore desiar you, if there be anny danger apprehended in his illness, to send me word by perton's coach, and ordor him to leve it at Clefton, that i may com with all spead, for it is very nessary i should have som discors with him a fore he dised, if he is thought to be neare it; i am very glad you are in town to be a comfort to Sis harcourt in his illness; I would have bin myself with har by this, bot my sperrit is so much broken with vexation and truble, that i can hardly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> News. <sup>d</sup> The illness was a mere temporary indisposition.

see or speak to anny body with dry eyes, so can be no comfort, but an afflection to all my frends; and would it pleas God to take my pore children as well as myself, should be very glad to dye; but, in hops of seeing you in a lettel time, shall ad nomore but my praars that you and yours may never know the truble and afflection of

"Your unfortunate Sist,

"M. JENNENS.

"Pray my Sarvis to my neve and Neses.

" May 7th."



# MEMOIR OF THE HON. SIMON HARCOURT.



# The Yon. Simon Yarcourt.

SIMON, second son of Lord Harcourt, alone, of three brothers, lived to attain to man's estate. He was born at Chipping Norton in the year 1683.

Lord Campbell, in writing of him, says:—

"He was a most accomplished and promising young man, who was so much in the confidence of Harley, St. John, and Swift, as to be appointed by them Secretary to the famous Society of 'BROTHERS,' and who was expected himself to turn out a distinguished statesman and wit. He not only resembled his father in genius, but very strikingly in looks, a circumstance to which Gay refers in his address to Pope on the completion of the far-famed translation of Homer, in which he supposes all the Poet's friends assembled to welcome his return from Greece:—

"Harcourt, I see, for eloquence renown'd,
The mouth of justice, oracle of law!
Another Simon is beside him found,
Another Simon, like as straw to straw."

Collins, in his "Peerage," 1768, gives the following notice of Simon Harcourt:—

"His Lordship's eldest son, the Hon. Simon Harcourt, was returned for the boroughs of Aylesbury and Wallingford to the 3rd and 4th Parliaments of Great Britain, which met in 1710 and 1713, and were the two last called by Queen Anne.

"He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Evelyn, Esq., of Wotton in Surrey, and by that lady, who departed this life on April 6, 1760, he had one son Simon, afterwards Earl Harcourt; and three daughters, viz.: Elizabeth, died unmarried; Anne, who died young; Martha a, wedded to

<sup>a</sup> By an unfortunate oversight, Martha Harcourt has been previously described as the *second* wife of Lord Vernon. She was in fact his *third* wife. George Vernon was born Feb. 9, 1709; he assumed the additional surname of Venables on September 3, 1728, under the will of his great uncle, Peter Venables.

He married on June 21, 1733, Mary, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, by whom he had a son George, his successor; she died in Feb. 1740. Mr. Vernon married secondly Dec. 22, 1741, Anne Lee, daughter of the baronet of that name, of Hartwell, Bucks; she died on Sept. 22, 1742. Mr. Vernon married thirdly April 10, 1744, Martha Harcourt, who survived him fourteen years, and died April 3, 1794; Mr. Vernon was made a Peer May 1, 1762, and died August 1, 1780.

When Mr. Vernon was made a Peer, his first notion was to call himself Lord Kinderton. An ancient Barony of this name was said to have been conferred in pre-historic times upon the "Valiant Venables," when he slew the wyverne that had so long infested Cheshire. This wyverne was believed to feed upon the children

George Venables Vernon, of Sudbury in Derbyshire, afterwards created Lord Vernon; and Mary, who died an infant."

of the inhabitants. Venables was supposed to have slain it with an arrow whilst it was in the act of swallowing a child; whence the crest. Mr. Vernon elected, in the end, to be called Lord Vernon, Baron of Kinderton.

It may be interesting to make a short digression, with the view of tracing a little more closely the connection between the families of Harcourt and Evelyn. The famous author of "Sylva" was born in 1620, and died in 1705, aged eighty-five. By his marriage with Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir R. Browne, he had issue John, married to Martha, daughter and co-heir of Richard Spencer, and who died before his father, 1698: the son, John Evelyn, had issue John, created a baronet, 1713, married to Anne Boscawen, and died 1763, aged eighty-two; and Elizabeth, married to Simon, only son of the first Lord Harcourt.

Martha, daughter of Simon Harcourt and Elizabeth Evelyn, married, as his third wife, George, first Lord Vernon. On the failure of the male descendants of Lord Harcourt, Edward Vernon, Archbishop of York, son of the aforesaid Martha and of George Lord Vernon, succeeded under the will of George Simon, Earl of Harcourt, to the Harcourt estates and name, as a lineal descendant of Lord Harcourt. On the failure of the male descendants of John Evelyn, the descendants of the same Martha became his lineal representatives, and thus it very nearly happened that the Harcourt and Evelyn properties were united.

Dame Mary Evelyn in her will, dated Sept. 12, 1814, in the first place, names "John Evelyn, Esq., formerly of Bath, but now or late of Glocester Place, Portman Square, Marybone," to succeed to the Evelyn estates, which had been devised to her by her late husband, Sir Frederick Evelyn; "after his decease unto——Evelyn, son of the said John Evelyn (now in the army)." The said John Evelyn was not acquainted with Lady Evelyn, as indeed might be gathered from her ignorance of his son's name; nor was he related to the Evelyns of Wotton. The reason, therefore, why he was introduced into the entail is not very clear;

Simon Harcourt in early life exhibited a great love for poetry; Lord Campbell has credited Lord Chancellor Harcourt with the authorship of the verses which are published in the preface to Pope's works.

I have, however, the manuscript of the said verses in my possession, with the au-

but the fact of his name being Evelyn, and of his being connected with the Evelyns of St. Clere, probably influenced Lady Evelyn in the matter.

This John Evelyn passed the early part of his life in Ireland, from thence he went to India, and subsequently lived in Bath. His son, — Evelyn, whose name was George, became on the death of Lady Evelyn, the tenant for life of the Wotton estates; but he lived a very short time to enjoy his prosperity. When he was twenty-four years of age he was present at the Battle of Waterloo; his left arm was shattered by a bullet in the defence of Hougoumont, but the limb was not amputated, and he regained the use of it. He died at the age of thirty-seven, from the effects of a fall from his horse; the accident brought on an abscess in the liver, which after an eight months' illness, proved fatal.

He was succeeded by his son William, then an infant, who is the present fortunate and worthy possessor of the Wotton pro-

perty.

Lady Evelyn's will proceeded as follows: "in default of such issue (i.e. of —— Evelyn, Esq.), I give &c., unto the third son of the present Archbishop of York, descended from one of the Evelyns of Wotton, . . . . then to the use of the first son of the body of such third son, &c."

Such an eventuality would, as has before been stated, have united the Nuneham and Wotton properties, and brought them into the possession of a direct descendant of both Simon Harcourt and John Evelyn.

thor's emendations, and they are distinctly in the handwriting of Simon Harcourt the younger.

I here give a short selection from his verses, and the reader may judge for himself of the degree of proficiency to which he attained:—

### VERSES BY THE HONble SIMON HARCOURT.

"DEAR Harry, if any This weather, so rainy, Should ask what's become of poor Simon, Prithee let 'em all know He so weary did grow, Of Love, he no longer could rhime on. From his dwelling near Hamsted, To ye conjuror Flamsted, That he's gone to be cured of his pain; For since ye black art, First kidnapt his heart, He hopes 'twill restore it again. When again I am free, I'll range it like thee, Take ev'ry kind she to my breast; While ye coquet so fair, That caus'd my despair, Provides a new fool for her jest. How monstrous to starve All our passions to serve,

A single impertinent pride,

Tho' the violet and rose

Are sweet to ye nose,

There's a thousand fine flowers beside."

## ASTROP WELLS, 1719.

Addressed to the Honble Thomas Harvey, Esqr.

"WHAT not a Muse? the idle Harp unstrung? When such a Theam demands the Poet's song. Shall Bath, thy spring be great Apollo's care? Or Epsom thine? and we forsaken here, Our stream as sacred, and our Nymphs more fair? In Chamb-ne Love lays his terrors by, And gently revels in her Sportive Eye; Mild as his Mother's Mercies he appears, And all the softness of her Doves He wears, On her fair Breasts He'll sometimes smiling play, And steal the Soul insensibly away. If in her Breast and Eye the tempter fail, He'll tune the voice, and in her songs prevail. Secure he strikes the too unguarded Heart That fears no Ruin where it sees no Art: See next what crowds at Tyrrel's Shrine Adore Unnumber'd Swains obey unbounded power; Some in her shape pursue the fatal snare, Some to her Face, or Lovelier Neck repair, And fondly gazing find Destruction there. With various Arts her Empire she maintains, And true to Merritt, still with Judgement reigns.

If Harvey to the Nymph reveal his Flame, She smiles Indulgent and attends the Claim; Not that the youth can ask, or Fair one grant, But what becomes the Votary and Saint. In brainless Fops the passion's an offence, And Love miscall'd is but Impertinence. This well she knows, and Deals the just Reward, Disdainful turns, the Teazer's tale unheard. Gay Fanny last like Op'ning Morn appears, And drooping Nature, like the Morn, she chears. Souls yet unmov'd the geniall warmth confess, Shake off their Earth, and the kind ardour bless. The Doubtfull Youth Admiring feels the Dart Of other Loves sett looser in his Heart. The Doubtful youth and age when she's in view, In second life their Vernal Green renew. See how the brisk and gamesome Train she heads, The Graces follow as their Venus leads. Untam'd she bounds, and fearfull of the Yoke, Shuns the stretch't hand that would but gently stroke. Ye ministers of Love, protect the Fair, Restrain the winds, and guard the Hoop with care. No rising Blush is wanting to adorn The finish't beautys of this Op'ning Morn. Such, Astrop, are the Charms that Grace thy Stream, And such shou'd ever be the Muse's theam. O may an abler hand redress the wrong, Their Glorys suffer from so mean a song; Then, Astrop, then thy thousand Stars shall prove A shining tract, a Galaxy of Love.

Thy Thousand Stars shall then be seen in one, And the great Masterpiece of Love be shown; The Gracefull Verse shall swell the Poet's Fame, And Lasting Laurells rise from Hilsbro's Name.

# TO MR. PRIOR, UPON HIS INVITATION TO TOWN.

- "Such, such thy verse as was the Syren's strain
  That sung to Granvile—And that sung in vain.
  Here the false world forgotten I'll forget,
  And praise the hand that dealt me this Retreat;
  Here sweet, sincere and unmixed Blessings find,
  (Grieved only for the Friend I leave behind).
  Blessings like those thy Classics best reveal
  To such, who reading, Envy what I feel.
  See Me in Maro's old Corycian Swain,
  Submissive to the Lott the Fates ordain.
- "And better please their unambitious Lord
  Than the pil'd plenty of Carnarvon's board.
  Unfix'd in Youth the mazy round I run,
  And Drank ye various pleasures of ye Town.
  Yet only found, and who could e'r find more,
  Soon as the day was passed, the noise was o'r.
  Forswear our City then? Not so, but hear what
  Signs and wonders must ye way prepare.

First Exil'd Vertue shall its Right obtain,
And the mad Isle its long-lost name regain.
Soft pleasing hope forsake the ripening Maid,
And Nelson more than Abelard be read.

Great Kneller's skill Aurelia's beauty take,
Or thou describe the wounds those Beautys make.
The Dove shall sojourn with the Hawk unhurt,
Fair tender Truth to Ke—tts' Breast resort,
A venal Senate fix our Liberty,
And Faith and courtly Benjamin agree.
If none that Doat may be allowed to Reign,
And whether Marlboro's dotage be unfeigned,
Misterious point, shall clearly be explain'd,
And greater difficulty come to pass,
And Methuen Humbl'd kill K—g Bothmar's."

# PREFACE TO POPE'S POEMS, BY HONble SIMON HARCOURT.

"HE comes! he comes! bid every bard prepare
The song of triumph, and attend his car.
Great Sheffield's muse the long procession heads,
And throws a lustre o'er the pomp she leads;
First gives the palm she fir'd him to obtain,
Crowns his gay brow, and shows him how to reign.
Thus young Alcides by old Chiron taught,
Was form'd for all the miracles he wrought:
Thus Chiron did the youth he taught applaud,
Pleas'd to behold the earnest of a god.
But hark! what shouts, what gathering crowds rejoice!
Unstain'd their praise by any venal voice,
Such as the ambitious vainly think their due,
When prostitutes or needy flatterers sue,

And see the chief! before him laurels borne;
Trophies from undeserving temples torn;
Here Rage enchain'd, reluctant raves, and there
Pale Envy, dumb and sickening with despair;
Prone to the Earth she bends her loathing eye,
Weak to support the blaze of majesty.—
But what are they that turn the sacred page?
Three lovely virgins, and of equal age!
Intent they read, and all enamour'd seem,
As he that meets his likeness in the stream:
The Graces these; and see how they contend,
Who most shall praise, who best shall recommend.

The chariot now the painful steep ascends,
The poems cease, thy glorious labour ends.
Here fix'd the bright eternal temple stands,
Its prospect the unbounded view commands:
Say, wondrous youth, what column wilt thou choose,
What laurell'd arch for thy triumphant muse?
Though each great ancient court thee to his shrine,
Though every laurel through the dome be thine,
(From the proud epic, down to those that shade
The gentler brow of the soft Lesbian maid,)
Go to the good and just, an awful train,
Thy soul's delight and glory of the fane;
While through the earth thy dear remembrance flies,
Sweet to the world, and grateful to the skies."

The following letters from Simon Harcourt, are all that I possess of his correspondence; to these I shall add a few letters from his wife, Elizabeth Evelyn, which will bring this short memoir to a close.

From the Hon. Simon Harcourt to his mother-in-law (Mrs. Evelyn):—

" Thursday 27th, 1716.

"Hond Madam,—I write you this by my father's orders to let you know he designs with my mother to be in London on Saturday next, and stay there till the Thursday following, when they intend to set out for Cockthorp. If you find it, madam, convenient for you to come to town for a day or two, you may rest yourself in Red Lyon-street, and come down with my father in his coach; but if you had rather go from Wotton to Henley, you will be pleasd to be there on Thursday next at ye Catherine Wheele, where you will meet my father, who will bring you from thence with him.

"My mother desires you would write her two words only by ye Sunday's post, whether she may expect you in town; she hopes you will come up to her, least anything should fall out to prevent their leaving London the day yey intend, they do not indeed forsee anything yt can pos-

sibly keep 'em longer, but your coming up will be ye surer way.

"I am, Madam,

"Yr most dutiful, obedient, humble servt,
"S. HARCOURT.

"My wife and I desire our service to all with you."

From the Hon. Simon Harcourt to his mother-in-law (Mrs. Evelyn):—

"Hond Madam, — My father sets out from hence for London on Saturday next in his chariot, he will drop his horses and chariot in town till the Tuesday following, and hopes you may be ready by that time, and take that opportunity of coming to us; all here are well, and present their most humble service to you and all with you; my wife desires her duty to you, and orders me to tell you she can't hold out long.

"I am, Madam,

"Your most obedient Son and Servant,
"SIM. HARCOURT.

" Cockthrop, Wensday Morn."

From Honble. Simon Harcourt to his wife:—

"Aix-la-Chapelle, May 29, 1720.

"MY DEAREST,—I have now the pleasure of telling you I am got well to Aix. By the Letter

I have writ this post to my father, you will see I am as yet in doubt whether I shall drink ye waters or not, and how I intend to dispose of myself in case I don't drink 'em.

"Lord Bolingbrook will be so good to me as to stay here, should I drink ye waters, till such time as I shall have finisht 'em, and to take me with him afterwards to a purchase he has lately made in France. Could I tell you the care that is taken of me in this family, you would not be in pain for me; whatever becomes of me you may be assured, I shall do the best I can to be with you by the time I promis'd you; and in the mean time take all imaginable care of myself for your sake and the sake of my dear Little ones, whom God Almighty bless and prosper; pray if you want any money tell Rock, and order him from me to write to Bedwell for it.

"If this should not come to your hands before you leave London, I will suppose you have made no scruple asking Lord Harcourt for what money you wanted, I am sure he will never see you uneasy upon that account, and I think otherways. I should not have a quiet moment in my absence from you; for be assur'd, my Dearest Creature, that of all the things in this world, you are and ever will be nearest the heart of

"Your ever faithfull and affectionate,

"S. HARCOURT.

"You will direct your letters according to ye address that will be enclosed in a letter to my father this post."

From Hon. Simon Harcourt to his wife:-

"June 6th, 1720 (foreign stile),
"Aix-la-Chapelle.

"MY DEAREST CREATURE,—When you have read the letter I am now writing, you will, I hope, have read three from me since I left you; as yet I have not had a word from England, nay even Harvey has not vouchsafed me ye pleasure of a line; by to-morrow's post I expect great things, and if I find myself disappointed, shall begin to be a little impatient; I can now tell you I have taken the waters of this place, what future good I may find from 'em I know not, but at present I think I am not much the better for them.

"The confusions in France will oblige L. Bolingbroke to hasten thither; I believe wee shall set out together on Saturday next, and get to Paris by Wednesday following, about dinner-time. As soon as I get thither I will endeavour to find out about my Aunt draper, make your compliments to her, and desire her assistance in getting me a scarfe for you, for I think that was the commission you gave me at parting. Little Betty

left it to me to do by her as I thought fit, and you may be sure I shall not forget her.

"Your ever faithful and affectionate,

"S. HARCOURT.

"I shall write to my father next post; pray my duty to him and my mother.

"Pray direct to me as follows:-

"À Monsieur

Monsieur Harcourt,

Chez Mess<sup>18</sup> Cantillon and Hughs,

Rue du Rouse, proche la Monoye,

à Paris."

b Harcourt House, Cavendish Square.

c His son.

#### From Hon. Simon Harcourt to his wife:-

" Paris, June 21, 1720.

"MY DEAREST,—Your last letter of ye 27th of May got safe to me, I should have thankt you for it by last post had I not been in a hurry in setting out for Versaills, where I have since been, and seen your Aunt Draper; I found her and her family well, but not so cheerfull and so well pleas'd with France as I expected; she complains grieviously of ye excessive rate yt all things are got up too, which indeed is inconsievable, this and the perpetuall altering the value of their mony and bills, makes all foreigners very uneasy, and some amongst 'em whome I can answer for, impatient to return.

"My Aunt Draper, however, intends to stay here a considerable time longer; she will be in Town on Monday, and on Tuesday wee go together to look out for some french Toys for ye Dear theif, if anything can be found worth acceptance, and that cannot be had in England, you shall not be forgot; I have a great many things to say to you, but our meeting I hope will be so soon, yt I shall reserve 'em for the woods at Cockthrop.

"Pray write to me as soon as this comes to your hands, for I will not leave france till I have had an answer to this; you shall know next week when you may expect me, in the mean time God Almighty bless you and yours; pray remember me to all with you,

"And believe me, my Dearest Creature,
"Ever yours most faithfully,
"S. HARCOURT.

"Pray let ye enclos'd be sent to Oxford as soon as it gets to your hands."

At the back of this letter is written, in his wife's handwriting, "this is the last letter that I ever received from dear Mr. Harcourt." He had for some time been delicate, and appears to have travelled a great deal, as things went in those days, for the good of his health.

He died in 1720, in Paris, at the age of thirty-seven; his body was brought home, to be interred at Stanton Harcourt, in the family chapel. The epitaph written by Pope for his monument has already been described in the memoir of Lord Harcourt.

Simon Harcourt left an only son, of the same name; who, in another volume, will occupy a large share of our attention.

Here follow extracts from letters written

by the wife of the Hon. Simon Harcourt to her mother, Mrs. Evelyn, and to her brother, Sir John Evelyn, and extending from the year 1713 to the year 1734, inclusive.

From Hon. Mrs. Harcourt to Mrs. Evelyn (her mother):—

" August 11th, 1713.

"I am very much obliged to you, Dear Madam, for rejoyceing so kindly with me for Mr. Harcourt's safe return; I think, indeed, I never saw him look healthyer nor better than he does at present, and now I find how well France has agreed with him, am very well pleased that he has been there, tho' I was not at his going; I hope my Brother received the letter I writ to him last week, to thank him for the good news he was so kind as to send me of Mr. Harcourt's being safe landed; his letter came to Cockthrop on Tuesday last, tho' not to me till Wenesday, I being then at my Aunt Jennens; I should have been under a good deal of uneasiness if I had apprehended the danger Mr. Harcourt was in at sea; but I was so happy as to know nothing of the matter till I heard it from himself; he found us at my Aunt Jennens, where we stay'd all last week.

"My mother presents her humble service to you Madam, and desires the favour of you to bring her some wafer paper to put under the Almond cakes; and Mr. Harcourt desires me to give his duty to you with his humble service, and mine to my Brother and sister, who I am very glad to hear continues so well, and hope her time of confinment will be very near over by the time her Friends leave her. I have now nothing more to add but that I am ever with great respect,

"Dear Madam,
"Yours most obediently,
"E. HARCOURT."

From Hon. Mrs. Harcourt to Mrs. Evelyn:—

"March 10th, 1715.

"I hope, Dear Madam, you received my letter which I writ last week.... Mr. Harcourt begun his Welch journey last Munday.... Miss Jennens came to town last night; my Aunt has been so noble to her as to give her twenty pound, to lay out in cloths, with which she hopes to make herself very fine, with the assistance of her Friends in the laying of it out; I writ you word in my last letter that Dr. Mead had very little hopes

of my Aunt Harcourt, her lungs having been bad for some time, he thought from the begining of her illness that she would not get over it; she died last Sunday morning; she was perfectly sencible to the last, and very willing to dye, the only thing that troubled her, she said, was the parting with her children, she desir'd to see all her Friends the day before her death, to take leave of them, and desir'd them not to be concern'd, for she was not in the least; she express'd her satisfaction at the sight of her Sister Bell, wishing her a great deal of happiness, tho' she should not live to see it, and hoped what difference had been between them would be forgiven and forgot.

"My uncle is left a very mournfull widower, but the men soon overcome those things. We were very much surprized here in town last Tuesday night with strange sights in the Air; some people fancy'd they saw the figures of men, and fighting. I can't say that I saw aney thing like that, it appeared to me like the smoke of guns, or of a great fire at a distance; but I did not see it at the worst, those that did say it was exceeding frightfull.

"My mother desires me to give her humble service to you Madam, and to my Brother and Sister, and she begs the favour of my Sister to send her a receit for to drye Apricot chips if she has one. I beg my humble service to them both,

"And am ever, Dear Madam,
"Yours most obediently,
"E. HARCOURT.

"I have sent Miss Ann a thimble, which with my humble service I desire she will accept of."

#### "London, March ye 17th, 1715.

"DEAR MADAM,—I was very glad to hear the things came safe to Wotton, and that I hade the good luck to have what I had done approv'd on, which will incourage me to serve my Friends again whenever they command me, since they are so good as to be so easily pleased . . . . I had a letter last Monday from Mr. Harcourt, he was then got as far as Hereford; there happen'd an unlucky accident at the begining of his journey, tho' he had the good luck to skape without aney hurt; the Oxford Coach in which he went down was overturn'd down a steep precepice, but nobody gott aney hurt, but one lady, who I sopose happen'd to be undermost, and was pretty much buried. He rekon'd to be at his journey's end last night.

"L<sup>d</sup> Winton's Trial began last Thursday, he is found guilty, and sentence will be passed next

Munday, his behaviour was not like a man in his right senses, and 'tis hop'd he will find favour upon that account. Betty desires me to give her duty and service to all her friends at Wotton, not forgeting her young Friends, who I hope are all well. I must desire to add my humble service to my Brother and sister,

"And am ever, dear Madam,
"Most obediently yours,
"E. HARCOURT."

"London, March ye 29th, 1716.

"My Father and Mother go out of Town next Munday, and design to stay about a fortnight in the Country, and about as long in Town when they come back again. By that time I believe Mr. Harcourt will be returned out of Wales, so as to meet us at Cockthrop.

"They talk still very much about town of Lord Bridgewater's marreing Mrs. Meadows, and I heard it spoke of not long ago by a relation of my L<sup>d</sup>'s. I think he can't make a better choice, and shall be very glad to hear of aney good fortune that happens to that young lady....."

d Young ladies were described as Mrs.

#### "London, April ye 12th, 1716.

"I have pleased my self very much, Dear Madam, with the hopes you gave me in your last kind letter of seeing my brother and sister in Town. . .

"It was reported yesterday that Lady Sunderland was dead. Mr. Walpole they say is quite out of danger, which is a very great happyness. I don't know what the Nation could have done if so considerable a man had died."

#### "London, May ye 1st, 1716.

"I was very agreably surprised, Dear Madam, with seeing my brother in Town last week, and very glad to hear that all my friends at Wotton are well.....

"My Father talks now of our going down to Cockthrop this day fortnight, and I should have been glad to have gone sooner, for I believe Mr. Harcourt will be there by the end of this week, and I sopose will have had enough of traveling, and not care to come aney farther, tho' he says he is very much tempted to come up to see the Books my Lord Torington has left my Father.....

"I sopose you have heard of Lord Summers'

death; they say he has left no will, which will make Lady Jekill and his other sister prove very considerable fortunes....."

" Cockthrop, May ye 22nd, 1716.

"I sent you word, Dear Madam, in my last letter that we should begin our journey last Thursday.....

"We found Mr. Harcourt here ready to receive us; his Welsh journey has agreed mighty well with him, only his complexion is a little the worse for having been so often a horseback; but he will find the useing so much exercise of very great advantage I hope to his health, which will more than make amends for his being tan'd.

"Mr. Aubrey came down to Cockthrop with us, and I beleive the wedding will be in a very few days....."

"Cockthrop, June ye 2d, 1716.

"I defer'd thanking you, Dear Madam, for the favour of your last kind letter till I could send you word that the wedding e was over; last Tuesday was the day, and my Father, who is as great a lover of dispatch as Mrs. Boscawin, hurried us to church soon after ten o'clock, and before eleven the ceremony was over. . . . . .

e The marriage of Lord Harcourt's second daughter to Mr. Aubrey.

"The Comedien and Betty were the two Bride Maids, and the latter not a little delighted with being so, tho' she could not forbeare shedding some tears just after her Aunt was married, for fear her new Uncle should carry his Bride away with him immediately from Cockthrop, and could not be satisfied till she understood that they were not to part so soon.

"I sopose next week we shall have a good deal of company; we could not expect much this week because of Woodstock Race, which begun last Wednesday, and does not end till to night; the Bride and Bridegroom were there on Thursday, there was a great deal of company there, tho' not near so much they say as there was the day before; the Duke of Summerset's horse won the plate the first day, and Lord Ross's the second; who was the lucky person yesterday I have not yet heard. They say Lord Brooke's Equipage outshined everybody's there by much, tho' there were a great many there that were very fine, he having no less than seven-and-twenty men in the richest liveries that were ever seen.

"We hear that the Duke of Marlborough has been very dangerously ill with a fitt of Appoplexey, and it was reported at the Race that he was dead, but we have heard since that he is upon recovery. The books my Lord Torinton left my Father are come very safe to Stanton Harcourt. Mr. Harcourt has already spent two mornings there, very much to his satisfaction, tho' there are but two of one-and-twenty cases yet open'd, so that he has a great deal of pleasure still to come, he wishes my Brother here to partake with him...."

#### "Cockthrop, June ye 19th, 1716.

"I was very sory, Dear Madam, to hear by your last kind letter that my Brother had been troubled with a pain in his head, which as it hinders him from entertaining himself at his book, must needs be a double punishment; Mr. Harcourt has had that complaint, too, pretty much of late, which I believe is oweing to his going every morning to Stanton Harcourt, where the Books are, and returning from thence in the heat of the day."

#### "Cockthrop, April ye 22d, 1718.

"Our neighbour, Sir Robert Jenkingson, we hear, is going to be married to Mrs. Kitty Dashwood. We can't think of our Welsh journey till the weather is a little better, the roads are now so bad everybody says, that my Mother is almost discouraged from thinking of it at all; but one hopes at this time of year they won't continue so;

Betty is to be one of the company, at least, as far as my Sister Aubrey's, where she seems at present very much inclined to stay till we come back from Wales; but I don't know yet whether her Papa will agree to that, or to part with her so long; I shall be unwilling my self, I believe, to be so long both from her and the rest of the children, as I fear I must before we come back again. The Nurse is one that is pretty carefull, and I hope will be so now. The Boy went into briches on Easter Monday, he looks abundance better in them then in his coats, and everybody thinks it suits him abundance better, and he seems of that opinion himself, and fears nothinge so much as to put on his coats again."

#### " Colbey, May ye 31st, 1718.

"My Father begins now to talk of our return to Cockthrop, and I believe about ten days hence we shall begin our journey; we shall stop at my Sister Aubrey's to rest our selves for a day or two, and to take up Betty; my Brother Aubrey, who came hither last Wensday, says her cold is much better; if 'tis not gone before we gett home, I design she shall drink Asses milk for it, we having one there for the boy, who had a little breaking out about him in the spring, for which D'. Mead thought it would be proper to give him Asses milk; both he and Patt were very well

when we heard last from Cockthrop; the boy takes it very ill, I hear, that we left him, and especialy of his Grandpapa, who he did not think, he says, would have served him so; but I believe we shall be able to make our peace with him, my Brother Barlow having bought a little Welch horse to send him for a present when we go. . . ."

"Cockthrop, August ye 16th, 1718.

"....  $M^r$ . Gay has left us;  $M^r$ . Pope and his mother being come to Stanton Harcourt; she is a very good sort of a woman, and will make a very good neighbour whilst she stays, which I believe will be about a month or six weeks longer, by that time I sopose they will be weary of theyr solitude.....

"M<sup>r</sup>. Harcourt went yesterday to Astrop, to make mother Rowney a visit, where he stays till tuesday next, and is then to meet us at S<sup>r</sup>. John Walters.....

"One hears dayly of some sad accident or other, occasion'd by the Thunder or lightning that happen'd lattly; there were two People kill'd by it in a field at Stanton Harcourt, a man and a woman, they were sweetharts, and to have been married at Michaelmass; they are both buried in a grave, and my Father tells Mr. Pope and Mr. Gay, that he thinks they ought to make an Epitaph upon them. 'Twill be a surprize to you,

I believe, to hear that my Aunt Stonhouse is married, but a much greater when you hear to whom; that after refuseing so many good matches as she has done, she has at last thought fitt to marry her footman, a young fellow of about twenty; 'twas such an amazing peice of news, that I cou'd not have believed it had I not heard it from those who were too well inform'd for one to doubt the truth of it; he is willing it seems to settle what she has upon her, and Sr John will be so kind to her as to take care to see that done. Betty desires her duty to her Grandmama, and the Boy his, and that I would lett you know what a notable horseman he is, and that he has rid as far as Hardwick upon his little Welch horse, which he thinks an extraordinary peice of news...."

#### " Cockthrop, September ye 1st, 1718.

".... My Brother seems mightely pleased with Newnham, which he saw in his way hither; last Saterday we went to Blenhem, where there has been a good deal done since he saw it before, several of the Apartments being finished, and the Hall painted; there we saw Mr. Moor, who has promised to come over to Cockthrop.

"My Brother and my uncle Harcourt went this morning to see Cornbury. I don't here aney thing

yet of Lord Rochester's coming down, tho' some say the wedding will be kept there.

"Mr. Harcourt is under Dr. Fruin's care, and according to his directions is adrinking Spau Waters; he began but yesterday, and cant expect to find much benifit by them yet, tho' I hope he will in a little time. We hear nothing more of my Aunt Stonehouse, for so I must call her, not knowing her other name, only that she refused to have the writings, that are to secure what she has out of this fellow's power, in trustees' hands, as Sr John Stonehouse and the rest of her Friends would have had them, so I sopose he will gitt what she has and spend it. Some say she has a mind now to disown her being married to him, but I fear that is now too late. . . . ."

#### "Cockthrop, October ye 2d, 1718.

"Our Neighbours Pope and Gay have left us, but we hear that we have a new one at Ducklington, M<sup>rs</sup>. Fotherbey being come thither; but we have not yet seen her, nor our neighbour Bluit, who is come to North-Moore.

"We are in daily expectation of S<sup>r</sup> John Walters and his Lady, who have promised to come and spend three or four days with us. My Father and M<sup>r</sup>. Harcourt seem in earnest now about the Library, and are making preparations in order to

go about building next spring, and hope then my brother will come to their assistance. . . . . "

#### "London, December ye 11th, 1718.

"Wee went from Cockthrop to my Aunt Jennen's last Saterday morning, and staid with her till Tuesday morning; the children set out on Munday, and mett us on Tuesday night at Slough, and yesterday about noon we all gott safe to Town. We were under some fear of meeting high-waymen, having heard there has been great robbing of late, but we scap'd very well without meeting aney; the waggon where our goods and plate were, was sett upon near Oxford by five fellows; but there happened to be 3 or 4 waggons together, and those that belonged to them made their party good, and took three of them, who are now in Oxford Geol. . . . .

"Mr. Harcourt has just now received my brother's kind letter, for which he designs to return him thanks very soon, and likewise for the Pig'stail...."

#### "Cockthrop, June ye 18th, 1722.

"I beleive you have heard of Sir John Walters' death, he has left his estate to my Lady during her life, and to S<sup>r</sup> Robert Walters after her death. My Father has a legacy of a thousand pound;

he is now at Sarsden, he went thither last friday, in order to be there at the funeral the next day. Sr John was ill but a few days before his death. He died of no distemper, but a general decay, which was no wonder, considering how he had lived....

"Last night's evening's post informed us of the D. of Marlborough's death; he has been in a manner dead for some time, and by what one has heard of him of late years, could have but little enjoyment of life. My Aunt Jennens did not leave us till yesterday, the great rains having made the waters so high at Newbridge that there was no passing. She stayed with us a week longer than she design'd."

#### "Cockthrop, July ye 10th, 1722.

"I take the first oppertunity of writing to you, Dear Madam, after my return to Cockthrop, beleiving it would be acceptable to you to hear that we got well thither; Capten Trever and his Lady mett us at Henley, and lay there that night, the moon not happening to rise till very late, and the Capten being a little merry, 'twas not advisable for them to venture home in the dark...."

" Cockthrop, August ye 11th, 1722.

"To Sir John Evelyn:-

"I return you many thanks, Dear Brother, for

the kind letter I received from you last night, with the agreeable news of my Mother's being so much better, that I hope a very little time will perfect her recovery; and you must give me leave to repeat my thanks to you upon Precious's account, who I daresay thought himself very happy to wait upon the young ladies to so fine a sight as the funeral f must needs be, by the description we had here of it in the newspapers; I fancy the Anthem must be mighty fine, and had I been in Town I should rather have heard that than seen the show."

#### " Cockthrop, May ye 12th, 1722.

"My Mother desires her thanks to my sister for the receit of the Snail water, with her humble service both to you, Madam, and to her; Mrs. Scot is now a stilling the Snail water, and I did intend to give Simon some of it had his cough continued, but thank God he has now hardly any remains of it, and seems perfectly well in health, but somewhat troubled in mind at the weather's being so bad, that he can't ride so much as he would; and 'tis no small dificulty we have to keep him within door when 'tis wet and windy, which happens pritty often, for we have had but little good weather since we came into the country....

"Lord Abington call'd here last week in his

f The Duke of Marlborough's.

way to the Bath, his Lady was not well enough to go with him, having miscarried, and been very ill since."

#### "Cockthrop, June ye 2d, 1722.

"I think the young Princesses make their appearance in Publick very soon after having the Smal-Pox, but I sopose they have had it very favourably, which will incourage People to go on with this new way of inoculating; I own I am so unfashonable as not to like it, tho' it has succeeded with a great maney; I have not yet heard how Miss West came off, I heard that she had the Courage to try it; Lord Bathurst, I think, had a great deal, to try it upon six of his children at once, and very good luck to have them all do well."

#### " Cockthrop, June ye 30th, 1724.

"I don't know how time may reconcile one to this place, but I think nothing alters aney so much for the worse as the loss of a friend one has been long ust to there, and I beleive Cockthrop at this time would be as unpleasant to you as to me, otherways I should very much wish for your company here.

"My Father has given me three of those rings that were sent down, to lay by till I have an

g Referring to Lady Harcourt, Lord Harcourt's second wife, who had just died.

oppertunity to send them, one for yourself, one for my sister, and one for my Brother; and desires the favour of him to dispose of the seven remaining in his hands after the following manner: Two to be sent to my cosin, Philip Harcourt, one for himself, the other for his Mother; two rings to be sent to Mr. Richard Harcourt, one for himself, the other for his wife; three rings to be sent to Mr. Morley, one for himself, another for his wife, and the other for her sister Harcourt; he says he is sure you are all so good as to excuse the not haveing yours sooner, but does not know whether others may not take it amiss."

#### "Cockthrop, August ye 11th, 1724.

"I sopose we shall see Precious here on friday or Saterday next; my Father sends horses to Henley for him on Thursday, the next day he is to dine at my Aûnt Jennens's, and to come from thence that night, or the next morning, as he pleases; it falls out unlucky that his Grandpapa will be absent I fear the whole time of his being in the Country; Betty and I must do our best to entertain him, but I beleive he will prefer the setting dog or riding out, before our company."

"Cockthrop, August ye 27th, 1724.

"To Sir John Evelyn:-

"DEAR BROTHER,—I received the favour of

your kind letter by last night's post, and am very much oblidged to you for adviseing me after so friendly a manner to what you think likelyest to prove a satisfaction in the end; and tho' my Father has invited me very kindly to continue with him after his being married h, yet there may happen inconveniences in a mixt Family, more than one can forsee at present, and I am sensible of maney things that may make it improper; and therefore I have determin'd, tho' the time was but short that I had to consider on it, to go to London next week to gett a House as soon as I can, that I may remove from Downing Street if possible before my Father and the family come to Town.

"I find my Mother and sister have already been so kind as to inquire after one for me, and I shall be glad to know if they either saw or heard of one they thought likely to do; I should choose Westminster, and to be near my Freinds there, rather than aney other part of the town, if I can meet with a house not too large for me, nor in too close a place; I must not say that I shall be sorry to find my friends in Duke Street absent when I come to Town, if this fine weather should continue the Country will be so much pleasanter, that I should be very partial to myself to wish them aney where else; but when they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>h</sup> Lord Harcourt was just about to marry Lady Walters.

return 'twill be a very great satisfaction to me to see them there; I beg my duty to my Mother, and my humble service to my sister and the young ladys,

"And am, Dear Brother,
"Yours most affectionately,
"E. HARCOURT.

"Betty desires her duty and humble service to her friends at Wotton."

"Downing Street, September ye 9th, 1724.

"I think my sister told me that you had seen the house I have taken, and that you did not dislike it; I beleive I could not have found one fitter for me upon all acounts, had I had time to have lookt further.....

"I dare say my sister knows where the best dryed sweetmeats are to be had in town, and must desire that you would be pleased to ask her, because I am to send some down to Cockthrop by the carrier to-morrow sen'night, being what will be wanted there when my Lady comes. I beleive it was very surprizing to you to hear how soon that wedding was like to be, as indeed that part of it was to me, tho' I did immagine it very likely to happen some time or other, but could not think it would be quite so soon...."

#### "Downing Street, October ye 6th, 1724.

".... I fancy before this time you have heard that my Father was married on Wednesday last; I had yesterday a letter from him, in which he tells me he designs to go to Cockthrop to day, and that he shall stay there about a fortnight, so 'tis time for me to be gone from hence, that this house may be clean'd and put in order against he comes; and I hope mine is now pretty well air'd, there having been fires kept in the rooms this ten days, and to-morrow night I intend to lye there, my own room being furnished, and the one I eat in......

"I am much obliged to my brother and sister for so kindly offering me to be at their house, but I could by no mean think of crowding them up, or putting them to so great an inconvenience, as the having me there must have been...."

#### " Cockthrop, September ye 18th, 1725.

"We have not passed one day this week without company, her Grace of Marlborough din'd here on Thursday last, and with her Lady di Spencer, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Sunderland; her grace inquired mightily when my sister went to London, and said that she had lately had a letter from Lord Blandford, and that he told her he design'd to imploy Lady Evelyn to furnish his house in town; 'tis an employment I beleive my sister will not be fond of, tho' she is all ways ready to assist her friends, and I thought it would have been properer for her Grace, tho' I could not be free enough to tell her so. . . . .

"Simon went from hence last Munday, he had the pleasure of riding all the way, which made his return to School not quite so mussy as it would otherways have been."

> " Queen Square, Westminster, August y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>, 1726.

"I beleive it was very surprizing to you to hear that Mr. Phill. Harcourt's match was broken off, after being so far advanc'd as to have the weding day fixd, and the ring bespoke; the account I heard of it was, that at the begining of this affair, the Gentleman and the Lady both agreed that it would be best for them to live by themselves, and to have no relation of either side in the House with them; but a little before he went the Circuit he went to take his leave of the Lady, and at parting he told her that he had a request to make her, and he hoped that she would comply with it, which was that she would let one of his sisters live with them; she told him that it was contrary to their agreement, but to oblige him it should be so.

"And at the same time she desired that he

would give leave that a relation of hers, that had liv'd with her from a child, might stay with them after they were married for one month only, which he seem'd to think unreasonable, but did not then absolutely refuse; but a few days after, he writ the lady word that she had granted him his first request so unwillingly, and not at last without an expedient, that he could not but take it as an ill begining, and therefore he desired to take his leave of her, and left it to her to give what reason she pleas'd for the matter going off so suddingly, being at a loss I soppose to give a very good one himself. His friends are all very much surprized at his proceedings, and think him very much to blame."

"Long Wittenham, September ye 5th, 1726.

"DEAR MADAM,—I had the pleasure of hearing that you were well by your kind letter which I received last friday.

"My Aunt Jennens, Mrs. Trever, Betty and myself went last thursday to dine at Cockthrop with a sett of hir'd horses from Oxford, and, as we came back, our Coachman being either fudled or asleep, contriv'd to overturn us. Betty and I were undermost, and the glass up of our side, and with the fall broke all to peices, and yet we had the good fortune to escape without being cut; my

Aunt Jennens happened to hit her face agains the bar that parts the 2 fore glasses, and brus'd one side of it about her eye very much, and got a little cut just above her eye brow, that bled so much that we were afraid that she had been very much hurt, till the surgeon that we sent for from Abington came, who told us that it was nothing that was dangerous, but that she had happen'd to cut some little artery, which made it bleed so much. My Aunt's Cloths suffer'd very much, and I beleive will be good for little after this accident; but we are all very well satisfied that we came of without any broken bones, since we fell from a pritty high bank.

"I must beg my humble service to the good Company at the Codrill i table.

"Dear Madam,

"Your most obedient and dutiffull daughter,
"E. HARCOURT.

"My Aunt Jennens and Mrs. Trever desire that you would accept of their humble service, and Betty of her duty."

There is a note at the back of this letter, written by Sir John Evelyn:—

"My sister's letter to my Mother 5 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1726; received ye 9th, being ye day she died."

i Quadrille was a fashionable game at that time.

"Long Wittenham, September ye 19th, 1734.

"DEAR BROTHER,—.... I have had a letter from Mrs. Bowman k since I came hither, dated from Hanover, and am obliged to you for the account you give me of my son from one that you have received since; Mr. Rock l, when I saw him, told me that he had acquanted you with Lady Harcourt's favours to my son, who I hope will be wiser than to accept of them."

Young Lord Harcourt's Tutor.
 Lord Harcourt's Secretary.

### APPENDIX.

## SPEECH OF SIR SIMON HARCOURT

ON

# DR. SACHEVERELL'S TRIAL.



# Speech of Sir Simon Yarcourt

on

# Dr. Sacheberell's Trial.

"AY it please your Lordships, I am Council for Doctor Sacheverell, who stands impeached in the name of the Commons of Great Britain of high crimes and misdemeanors; the crimes supposed to have been committed by him are contained in four articles; I beg leave to postpone the three last, without mentioning any thing of them, till we have all concluded what we have to offer and lay before your Lordships, as to the several charges contained in the first, and endeavour to satisfy your Lordships, that, notwithstanding what has been objected by the Gentlemen of the house of Commons against the doctor in maintenance of that article, he is an innocent man.

"The first article contains three distinct charges, we shall proceed on them as they lye in order. The first of them is, 'that he suggests and maintains, that the necessary means used to bring

about the late happy revolution were odious and unjustifiable.'

"Your Lordships have been informed, that by this expression of 'the necessary means,' mentioned in the first article, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons intend his late Majesty's glorious enterprise for delivering the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, and the subjects of this realm well affected to their country, joining with, and assisting him in that enterprize. In a shorter description it has been explained, that these necessary means were the subjects' resistance to their unfortunate prince then upon the throne. Of this resistance the Doctor has made no mention in his Sermon: he has indeed affirmed the utter illegality of resistance on any pretence whatsoever to the supreme Power, but it can't be pretended there was any such resistance used at the revolution; the supreme power in this Kingdom is the legislative power; and the revolution took effect by the Lords and Commons concurring and assisting in it.

"Whatever therefore the Doctor has asserted of the utter illegality of resistance, his assertion being applied to the Supreme power, can't relate to any resistance used at the Revolution, and, consequently, can't be an affirmance that such resistance, or such necessary means, were odious and unjustifiable. "One of the learned gentlemen, who spoke the third day of this trial in maintenance of the last article, concurred with me in this, and objected it to the Doctor, that he had guarded himself by confining his assertion to the Supreme power, and that he had not averred the utter illegality of resistance to the Queen; but had he in express terms affirmed the unlawfulness of such resistance, yet by the same arguments which have been used, the Doctor would have been told he had been preaching a slavish doctrine.

"My Lords, another gentleman of the house of Commons (I think there were but two of them who took notice of this expression of the Doctor's of the Supreme power) observed, that the Doctor had asserted the illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever, which power he admitted was the legislative, and declared, if the Doctor had really meant that power, he should not have differed from him; and, without doubt, your Lordships and all persons will concur with him in this, that 'tis utterly unlawful to resist the supreme power.

"But that Gentleman, being satisfied that tho' the Doctor expressly mentioned the supreme power which is the legislative, yet he certainly intended the supreme executive power, concluded he was guilty of this charge in the first article; and mentioned it as an instance of the great mercy and lenity of the House of Commons, that they had not proceeded against him for high treason, as a parson in one of the late reigns was prosecuted for words which he thought less offensive and dangerous than this assertion preached by D<sup>r</sup>. Sacheverell; and yet that Gentleman was pleased to say, that had a dissenter, whose affection to the Government was unsuspected, expressed himself as the doctor did, the Gentlemen of the House of Commons would not have thought fit to have prosecuted him.

"That case which was alluded to, I take to be the case of Mr. Roswell, a non-conformist Minister; he was indicted in the 36 Car. 2, for words spoken by him in a sermon preached at a meeting house, 'twas a prosecution carried on through the violence of those times, and generally detested; he was convicted; but on cooler thoughts, and consideration of the uncertainty in his expressions, that they could not amount to such a crime as he stood charged with, judgment was arrested, and Mr. Roswell was discharged.

"Another learned Gentleman, who opened the charge, was of opinion that the Doctor, in his assertion of the illegality of resistance to the supreme power, does really neither mean the legislative nor executive power, but that he had the Pretender in his view.

"This is diving into the secrets of his heart,

and searching into his thoughts, which God only knows; this was urged, to avoid the strange inconsistency, in concluding that the Doctor was endeavouring to undermine the Government by preaching up the utter illegality of resisting it.

"My Lords, if there be a double sense, in either of which those words are equally capable of being understood; if in one sense the Doctor's assertion be undeniably clear, but in the other some doubt might arise, whether his words be criminal or not; the law of England is more merciful than to make a man criminal, by construing his words against the natural import of them in their worst sense.

"This is the great justice and clemency of our law in every man's case; but some persons are intitled to have a more favourable construction put on all their words and actions than others are, such as persons acting in execution of their offices, in obedience to authority, or by a Commission from the Crown; such persons are looked upon as under the immediate protection and care of the law. How much more reasonable is it that ministers of the Gospel, who have their commission from God, and speak in the name of God, should have the most candid interpretation made of whatever they say. This, I am persuaded, was one of the chief reasons which, in the case of Mr. Roswell, allayed the rage of that

reign, and at that time obtained mercy for him, though a non-conformist Minister under a conviction of High-treason.

"'Tis a hard fate attends this unhappy Gentleman, if he must inevitably lye under the imputation of being thought an enemy to the revolution, and to our present happy establishment on that foundation. What evidence will your Lordships expect he should produce to clear himself? He has shown his submission to the revolution; from the first moment his years made him capable of doing so he has given all publick testimonies of his fidelity and affection to the last reign, as well as the present, which the Government has at any time required from the most suspected persons; he has taken the oath of Allegiance, signed the Association, and took the Abjuration.

"'Tis a miserable case any man is in, if, after he has taken the Abjuration, the utmost which is required, he shall still be told, he has indeed abjured the Pretender, but hath not yet forgot him.

"If neither the inoffensiveness of the Doctor's behaviour, and if neither his words nor oaths can satisfy, and if after all these demonstrations the Doctor has given of his fidelity, he is still liable to be censured, what satisfaction is it possible for him to give?

"My Lords, if the manner of this solemn pro-

secution has not altered the nature of things, I hope I may insist, without putting in a claim of right in behalf of all the factious and seditious people in the Kingdom to revile the Government at pleasure, that by the happy Constitution under which we live, a subject of England is not to be made criminal by a laboured construction of doubtful words; or, when that can't serve, by departing from his words, and resorting to his meaning. Too many instances there were of this nature before the late happy revolution; but that put an end to such arbitrary constructions.

"I might trouble your Lordships on this head with multitudes of authorities, but I shall mention only one; 'tis an authority of your Lordships upon a writ of error, immediately after the revolution; Sir Samuel Barnardiston's case; and I beg leave to refer to your Lordships' journal, May 14, 1689.

"'Twas that Gentleman's misfortune to be called in question in the reign of Charles the Second (Hill. term, 1683), for writing some letters supposed to be seditious, and highly reflecting on the Government, and the public justice of the nation at that time. Upon his tryal he was represented as a seditious man, and one of a turbulent spirit; and being so painted by the Chief Justice who tryed him, tho' his actions were inoffensive, notwithstanding his innocence, a verdict

was obtained against him; and when he came to receive judgment, not being looked upon as an inconsiderable man, nor as a tool of his party, but as one of the heads of it, a fine of ten thousand pounds was set on him.

"I beg leave to lay before your Lordships what you did in that case. Your Lordships reversed that judgment, and as a glorious instance of your justice, not contenting yourselves with the right you had done in the case then before you, at the same time provided, as far as was possible, that no innocent person, in after ages, might suffer wrong. Your Lordships therefore, in an extraordinary manner, ordered the reasons of your judgment to be entered in your journal, and they are entered in the following words:—

"'First, the information in this case being grounded upon letters, which in themselves were not criminal, but made so by innuendos, your Lordships declared that innuendos, or supposed and forced constructions, ought not to be allowed, for all accusations should be plain, and the crimes ascertained.'

"My Lords, I hope it's unnecessary to my present purpose to read to you the second reason; but as 'twas another instance of your Lordships' justice, which ought never to be forgot, I shall take the liberty of doing it; it relates to the fine of ten thousand pounds. Though Sir Samuel

Barnardiston was a gentleman of a considerable estate, your Lordships declared, 'secondly, that this fine of ten thousand pounds is exhorbitant and excessive, and not warranted by legal precedents of former ages; for all fines ought to be with a salvo contenemento suo, and not to the party's ruin.'

"These were your Lordships' declarations in this case; if there be any uncertainty or doubt in the Doctor's expressions, your Lordships, I hope, will put the most favourable construction on them. What I have hitherto offered is, with relation to these words, The Supreme power; but that which I take to be the main objection in this case, is, that the Doctor's assertion of the illegality of resistance must be necessarily understood with reference to the executive power; and if it be utterly illegal, in any case, upon any pretence whatsoever, then 'twas unlawful at the revolution; and from thence the consequence is drawn, that the Doctor is guilty of this first charge, of maintaining that the necessary means used to bring about the happy revolution were odious and unjustifiable. This I take to be the force of the objection.

"My Lords, I admit the Doctor has in general terms asserted this proposition of the illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever; and yet I am not altogether without hopes, but that I shall be able to satisfie even the Gentlemen of the house of Commons, whether that expression be understood of the legislative, or executive power, that he is an innocent man, notwithstanding that assertion.

"My Lords, there is nothing further from our hearts, nor is any thing less necessary to the Doctor's defence, than for us to dispute, or to call in question the justice of the revolution; we are so far from it, that we look on ourselves to be arguing for it, whilst we are endeavouring to shew your Lordships, that the resistance used at the revolution is not inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England, and with the law of England, and that the Doctor uses no other language than what they both speak. When your Lordships have laid aside what was urged the second day, to show the justice of the revolution, and to aggravate the Doctor's offence, supposing him to be guilty, this matter will lye in a very narrow compass; and I am in hopes that there will not appear to be so great a difference as hath been represented, between the Doctor, in his assertion concerning the illegality of resistance, and some of the Gentlemen of the house of Commons; I can't say that I differ from many of them in their notions of allegiance, as stated the second day of this tryal.

"My Lords, the first thing on which I humbly insist, supposing this general assertion to relate

to the Supreme executive power, is, that the Doctor has not in any part of his sermon applyed it to the particular case of the revolution.

"'Twas insisted on the first day, that he had not only asserted the utter illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever; but, also, that he had expressly affirmed, that the revolution was not such a case as ought to be excepted out of his general rule. I deny: if such an expression can be found in the Doctor's Sermon, I shall think no punishment too great for him. 'Tis one thing expressly to affirm the revolution is such a case as ought to be excepted out of the general rule, and another thing not to make the exception. The Apostle, who in general terms enjoins the duties of obedience and non-resistance to the higher powers, makes no exception when he lays down those precepts; nor on the other side does he say, no such case can ever happen, wherein obedience is not to be paid, or resistance not to be made. He is silent in that matter; and the Doctor's expression in this case, is agreeable with that of the Apostle.

"To prove the Doctor guilty of this first charge, and that he had directly applied his general rule of the illegality of resistance to the supreme power to the particular case of the revolution, a learned gentleman (whose province 'twas to maintain the first article) on the second day of this tryal, first stated to your Lordships the page wherein the Doctor mentions the utter illegality of resistance, and read that passage in the following words:—'the grand security of our Government, and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subject's obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the supreme power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatever;' and then he says, 'the Doctor goes on, and says,—Our adversaries think they effectual stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this point, when they urge the revolution of this day in their defence.'

"This might very reasonably make an impression upon your Lordships, not comparing those several passages in the Doctor's sermon, at the same time that objection was made. But I beg your Lordships will observe the distance of these two passages from each other, between twenty and thirty lines, in which several distinct and entire sentences are contained, to which that last passage of 'our adversaries, &c.' plainly relates.

"The next method used to prove the Doctor guilty, was by taking the passage in itself, independently from any other; and this I own to be the true way of considering it: and taking it thus, 'tis objected, if in no case whatsoever 'tis

lawful to resist, 'twas then unlawful at the revolution. Such a doctrine must be a slavish doctrine. An unlimited passive obedience and non-resistance is a slavish notion.

"My Lords, Doctor Sacheverell does not contend for it, nor is there anything mentioned in his Sermon of such an obedience or non-resistance. There is but this small difference between the Gentlemen of the house of Commons, who think this expression so highly criminal, and the Doctor, who still conceives it to be otherwise; whether, when the general rule of obedience is taught, the particular exceptions which may be made out of that rule are always to be expressed; or whether, when the general rule is laid down, the particular exceptions which might be made out of that rule are not more properly to be understood or implied.

"I humbly apprehend, my Lords, that extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, are always implied, though not expressed in the general rule. Such a case, undoubtedly, the revolution was, when our late unhappy Sovereign, then upon the throne, misled by evil counsellors, endeavoured to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the Kingdom. The general rule ought always to be pressed, but the exceptions of extraordinary cases, of cases of necessity, are never particularly to be stated. To point out every such case beforehand, is as impossible as it is for a man in his senses not to perceive plainly when such a case happens.

"Every minister of the Gospel is sufficiently instructed from the doctrine of his Church, from the written laws of the land, and the law of God, to press the general duty of obedience; but such extraordinary cases wherein resistance is lawful, wherein it becomes an indispensable duty, are nowhere laid down. The same Apostle who enjoins obedience and non-resistance to the higher powers, commands also servants to obey their masters, and children their Parents, in all things; notwithstanding which general precepts, many cases may happen wherein it may be not only unfit, but sinful for servants to obey their masters, or children their parents. And yet the Apostle never thought it proper to state or mention those cases, but contented himself to press the duty of subjection in general, leaving such cases, when they happened, to justify themselves.

"Such cases, my Lords, with respect to resistance against the supreme power, are no way fit to be considered but in Parliament; and even the Parliament itself hath never yet thought fit otherways to consider them, than by way of retrospect, to justify what had of necessity been done in those cases; but never went so far as to enumerate the cases of that kind which might hap-

pen for the future, wherein it might be lawful for the subject to resist; nothing being more evident than that the subjects would be, sometime or other, thereby tempted to exceed their just liberty.

"I beg leave to close what I have humbly offered to your Lordships on this head, with an observation I borrow from Mr. Pym, at his delivering the charge against Doctor Manwaring; Mr. Pym, speaking of the Duchy of Normandy, observes that that Duchy, having been oppressed with some grievances, contrary to their franchises, made their complaint to Louis the tenth, who by his charter acknowledging the right and custom of the country, and that they had been unjustly grieved, did grant and provide, that from thenceforward they should be free from all subsidies and exactions to be imposed by him and his successors, yet with this clause, 'Unless when great necessity required;' which small exception, Mr. Pym observed, had devoured all their immunities granted by that charter. I think I may as reasonably conclude, that if Clergymen, or others, in their Sermons, writings, or public discourses, instead of preaching up the general rule of obedience, are permitted to state the several extraordinary cases which may arise, the several excepted cases which, notwithstanding the general rule, are implied; such exceptions will, in time, devour all allegiance.

"Having thus stated to your Lordships the question between us, whether such excepted cases as the revolution was, are not more proper to be left as implied, than to be expressed, when the general duty of obedience is taught; I shall endeavour to satisfy your Lordships, First, That the Doctor's assertion of 'the illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever,' in general terms, without expressing any exception, or that any exception is to be made, is warranted by the authority of the Church of England; and, Secondly, that this manner of expression is agreeable to the law of England.

"First, That it is warranted by the authority of the Church. Your Lordships were informed on the first day of this trial, with how much bravery even our Popish ancestors asserted the legality and indispensable duty of resistance, whenever they thought the liberty of their country required it; but that at the reformation, when truth began to shine out, then it became evident that this notion of the illegality of resistance was a slavish doctrine. The learned gentleman undoubtedly pitched on a very proper time to begin his search after truth; and from thence I shall endeayour to trace it.

"One very early authority I find, 'twas indeed in the dawn of the reformation, in a book entitled 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man,' published by the King's command, 34. H. 8. 'Twas a treatise composed by the direction of Cranmer, by Rydley, Redmayn, and other very great and learned men. I find it highly commended in the history of the reformation (Part I. Book 3, Page 286).

"The reverend author of that history gives an account how well the reformers were employed (Anno 1540), though not in the way of Convocation; that a select number of them sate, by virtue of a commission from the King confirmed in Parliament; and that their first work was to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine for the necessary erudition of a Christian man, and (page 293) that 'twas finished and set forth, with a Preface written by those of the clergy who had been employed in it, declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures and the ancient doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered that exposition of the Christian faith. In this treatise I find these passages:—(In the exposition of the fifth commandment), 'And by this commandment also, subjects be bound not to withdraw their fealty, truth, love, and obedience towards their Prince, for any cause whatsoever it be; nor for any cause they may conspire against his person, nor do any thing towards the hindrance or hurt thereof, nor of his estate.' (In the exposition of the Sixth commandment), 'Moreover, no Subjects may draw their swords against their Prince for any cause whatsoever it be.' The reverend father of our Church, to whom the Public is so much indebted for that excellent history of the reformation, and who has received the just thanks of both houses of Parliament for it (page 291), declares those expositions of the Commandments to be very profitable.

"My Lords, though the treatise in which I find these expositions was published in a Popish reign, vet as an undeniable evidence that the doctrine of non-resistance there taught is a Protestant doctrine; I shall show your Lordships the reverend author of the history of the reformation has himself asserted it, in much stronger terms than Doctor Sacheverell has done. In Edward the Sixth's time the glorious light of the Gospel shone out. The first book of the homilies, prepared by the clergy, was then published by the royal authority; in which were three parts of a homily, or rather three distinct homilies of obedience; in one of which is the passage mentioned in the Doctor's answer; 'Here, good people, mark diligently, It is not lawful for inferiors and subjects, in any case, to resist and stand against the superior powers, for St. Paul's words be plain,—that whosoever withstandeth shall get to themselves damnation; for whosoever withstandeth, withstandeth the ordinance of God.' In queen Mary's reign,

the light of the Gospel was eclipsed, and the darkness of Popery again overspread the nation. Resistance to Princes being a doctrine of the Church of Rome, your Lordships will not expect any authentic evidence to be produced out of that reign in maintenance of the doctrine of non-resistance.

"When queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, the truth of the Gospel shone forth in its full lustre, and then six homilies were added to the other three against disobedience and wilful rebellion; in which your Lordships will find many passages wherein the duty of non-resistance is pressed and inculcated in much stronger terms than it hath been asserted by Doctor Sacheverell.

"In that glorious reign the thirty-nine Articles of our religion were agreed upon by the Archbishops and bishops of both Provinces, and the clergy in convocation; by the 35<sup>th</sup> of which, the homilies are declared to contain a Godly and wholesome doctrine, and are ordered to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People. In the 13<sup>th</sup> year of that reign a further sanction was given to the homilies; the 39 Articles were then confirmed; and every person in holy orders to be admitted to any benefice with cure, was required, by Act of Parliament made in that year, to subscribe and read them in

the church, and declare his unfeigned assent thereto.

"My Lords, we have now a most gracious Sov--ereign on the throne, as far surpassing her renowned predecessor, queen Elizabeth, in the effectual support she gives to the Protestant interest, and in her pious care for the perpetual security of the Church of England, as in all the other successes and glories of her reign. In this reign a perpetual sanction is given to the books of the homilies, by inserting in the act of union the Act made the 13th Eliz., which confirmed the 39 Articles, by the 35th of which the doctrine of the Church taught in the homilies is approved, and declaring that act, 13 Eliz., to be 'an essential and fundamental part of the Act of Union;' so that I may now conclude, the doctrine of the Church of England taught in her homilies must continue as long as the Union of the two Kingdoms, which I heartily pray may be to the world's end. On these authorities do the homilies of our Church subsist; and as they are thus ratified by the Articles and Acts of Parliament, the Doctor has the concurrent authority of the Church and State for what he has said concerning the illegality of resistance.

"My Lords, is this doctrine of non-resistance taught in the homilies in general terms, in the same manner as Doctor Sacheverell has asserted it, without expressing any exception; do the Articles of our religion declare the doctrine taught in the homilies to be a godly and wholesome doctrine; and will your Lordships permit this gentleman to suffer for preaching it? Is it criminal in any man to preach that doctrine which 'tis his duty to read? The Doctor is not only required by the 35th Article to read this doctrine diligently and distinctly, that it may be understood by the people; but to show your Lordships the doctrine taught in the homilies did not die, nor was altered at the revolution; I must observe to your Lordships, that the rubrick of the Office appointed for the 5th of November by the late queen of blessed memory, directs the clergy on that day, if there be no sermon, to read one of these homilies against rebellion.

"Since the Doctor chose rather to preach than to read a homily on that day, how could he better comply with the command of Her late Majesty, than by preaching the same doctrine as was contained in those homilies he was commanded to read on that day, if he did not preach? Does an Act of Parliament, inserted in the Act of Union, enjoin him to subscribe to this doctrine before the Ordinary, and declare his unfeigned assent to it, in his parish church, and shall he be condemned in Parliament for asserting the truth of it? I must admit this 35th Article of our

religion is not by the toleration Act (I will give no offence by calling it by its true name) required to be subscribed by any Persons dissenting from the Church of England, to entitle them to their exemption from the Penalties mentioned in that Act. But that Act of Parliament no way varies the case with respect to the clergy; so that, whatever duty was incumbent on them before, is so still, and therefore I hope your Lordships will not think this gentleman has so highly offended.

"As a further proof that this doctrine of nonresistance, as laid down by the Doctor in general terms without making any exception, is the doctrine of the Church of England, I shall show your Lordships that it has been so preached, maintained, and avowed, and in much stronger terms than the Doctor has expressed himself, by our most orthodox and able Divines from the time of the reformation. 'Twould be useless to offer to your Lordships all the authorities I might produce on this occasion; but we shall beg your Lordships' patience to lay before you some passages out of the learned writings of several reverend fathers of our Church, of nine Archbishops, above twenty Bishops, and of several other very eminent and learned men.

"That your Lordships may not think this doctrine died at the revolution, I shall humbly lay before your Lordships the opinions of three Archbishops and eleven Bishops, made since the revolution, which will fully show the doctrine of non-resistance is still the doctrine of our Church. I would not willingly give offence in naming them; I am sure I mean no reflection, nor can it, as I think, be any reproach to them; I find no other doctrine in this case taught by them, as far as I am able to judge, than what the Apostles taught before them.

"With your Lordships' leave, I will therefore presume to name them, Archbishop Tillotson, the two present Archbishops, Bishop Stillingfleet, late Bishop of Worcester, the present Bishops of Worcester, Rochester, Salisbury, Ely, Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Exeter, St. Asaph, Carlisle, and Chichester. If I am able to show your Lordships that all these right reverend fathers of our Church have preached the same doctrine the Doctor has, are the same words coming out of their mouths to be received as oracles of truth, but spoke by the Doctor fit for articles of impeachment? I am sure it's impossible to enter into the heart of man to conceive, that what these reverend Prelates have asserted, that any general position they have laid down concerning non-resistance, is an affirmance that the necessary means used to bring about the revolution were odious and unjustifiable. Why then is Doctor Sacheverell, by having taught the same doctrine in the same manner as they did,

to be charged for having suggested or maintained any such thing?

"My Lords, I dare not suppose this doctrine, thus established by so many reverend fathers of our Church, to be erroneous. If an intemperate expression of one single Archbishop, above a hundred years since dead, is fit to be inserted in an article of impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanours, what punishment should I deserve could I suppose the doctrine taught by so many Archbishops and Bishops to be erroneous. But if I might hope to be excused, if I made the supposition that the homilies of our Church contain false doctrine, and that so many of the right reverend fathers of our Church are capable of erring, or being ignorant in the doctrine of their Church, I humbly propose it to your Lordships, whether a clergyman who errs after such great examples, might not reasonably have hoped for a more moderate correction than an impeachment? Had this slavish doctrine of non-resistance been first branded with its indelible mark of infamy, and the right and indispensable duty of resistance to Princes plainly shown; had all the slavish notions of the common law which we find dispersed throughout our law books, which gave countenance to this doctrine of non-resistance, been first weeded out of them, and some few Acts of Parliament, entirely agreeable with this slavish doctrine, been first repealed; had the people been set right in the notions of their obedience, and the ministers of the Gospel been instructed by Act of Parliament what doctrine they ought to preach, and what not; had all these things been first done, and the Doctor had afterwards err'd, your Lordships might have then looked upon him as an obstinate offender.

"The next thing I beg leave to consider is, the law of England; whether the Doctor's assertion of 'the utter illegality of resistance to the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever,' in general terms, is agreeable to the law of England. I hope I need not again explain myself as to this particular, I mean, that as the general rule is always taught and inculcated by the Church, so has it always been declared by the legislature, without making any particular exception; and if this rule holds both in Church and State, this gentleman is strangely unfortunate if he can't be comprehended under one or other of them.

"My Lords, whatever may at any time heretofore have been thought proper to be done by Parliament; whatever measures, in cases of the last necessity, may at any time have been taken by the people in general, for preserving their liberty, or asserting the rights of their country, and keeping themselves from slavery; yet in no age can any instance be show'd, not in the reigns of those Princes who have been depos'd, that this doctrine, of the right of resistance, as it has been term'd, was ever permitted to be asserted by any particular person.

"A memorable case to this purpose happened in the reign of King Edward the Second; an Act of Parliament, passed in the fifteenth year of that reign, entituled 'Exilium Hugonis de Spencer, Patris, & Filii.' The two Spencers were banished by that Act, and the first article in that Act against them is, 'that they had affirmed and published in writing, that homage and oath of allegiance were due more by reason of the Crown, than by reason of the person of the King; and that if the King did not demean himself according to reason, in the exercise of his government, his subjects might remove him; and that since that removal could not be by course of law, they might therefore remove him by force.'

"The time when this Act pass'd, and what afterwards happened, is remarkable. The Act, very soon after the making of it, was repeal'd, and 'twas thought necessary in that reign the people should assert that right, and thereupon the King was depos'd. But your Lordships will find in his successor's reign, they were so far from casting any blot on the act of exile, that in the I Edw. 3, by one of their first Acts, the repeal of the exile was annulled, and the act of exile confirmed. It

is true, that in the 21st year of Rich. 2, the Act made the 1st Edw. 3, for annulling the repeal of the exile, was repeal'd, and the reversal of the act of exile confirm'd; but in the 1st of Hen. 4, the whole Parliament held the 21st Rich. 2, and all the proceedings in it, for their extravagance, were annulled, and from thence the act of exile of the two Spencers continued untouch'd.

"I must humbly observe to your Lordships, that though there were two repeals of the act of exile, yet neither of them mentioned the matter contain'd in the articles as insufficient, but the reasons assign'd in the acts of reversal are, that 'in the proceedings against the Spencers the great Charter was not observed, that the prelates were not present, and did not assent thereto; and some other defects in form.' What opinion our greatest lawyers have since had of this act of exile, sufficiently appears, Co. 7. 11, Calvin's case, the words are these,—'In the reign of Edw. 2, the Spencers, the father and the son, to cover the treason hatched in their hearts, invented this damnable and damn'd opinion, that homage and oath of leigeance was more by reason of the King's Crown, (that is of his politick capacity), than by reason of the person of the King;' 'upon which opinion,' says the Lord Chief Justice Cook, 'they inferr'd most execrable and detestable consequences. First, if the King do not demean

himself by reason in the right of his Crown, his leiges are bound by oath to remove the King. Secondly, seeing that the King could not be reformed by suit of law, that ought to be done by force; All which were condemned by two Parliaments, one in the reign of Edw. 2, called "Exilium Hugonis Le Spencer," and the other I Edw. 3. Cap. 1.

"I barely mention these Acts to show, that however applicable the case of the revolution might be to that of King Edw. 2, yet that those very persons by whom the King was depos'd, thought it so high a crime in the two Spencers, to take on them to publish such positions, as to deserve banishment. The next law I beg leave to mention, is the 25 Edw. 3, Cap 2, by which 'the levying war against the King in his realm' is declar'd, in general terms, 'to be high treason,' without any exception whatsoever.

"This is an instance of what I am contending for, that the law, in all cases concerning our allegiance, lays down the general rule, without making any exception. So in the oath of obedience (as enjoined 3 James I, 4,) all persons are to swear 'to defend the King to the utmost of their power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall or may be made against his person, crown, or dignity.'

"The oath is in general, without any exception

express'd in it; and no man will presume to say, that oath, which was taken from the 3 James 1, till after the revolution, was not true. But the answer to be given is, what I give in this case, that cases of necessity, such as the revolution, were implied, they are improper to be express'd, and why ought not the like implication equally to be allowed in the general assertion made by Doctor Sacheverell? By the Act made 12 Car. 2, C. 30, for attainder of the regicides, it is declar'd, that 'by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the people, collectively, or representatively, nor any other persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any coercive power over the Kings of this realm.'

"My Lords, I can't apprehend this Act to be repeal'd; if it be not, I beseech your Lordships let D<sup>r</sup>. Sacheverell be tried by it; and that you will be pleased to consider whether the Doctor's assertion concerning resistance hath out-gone the declaration in this law.

"Your Lordships hear how fully the fundamental law of the Kingdom is declared by this Act; the Doctor has only said, 'Tis illegal to resist the supreme power on any pretence whatsoever.' The expression at the end of that declaration may possibly be observed, that it ex-

tends only to a coercive power over the person of the King; I know not what inference may be drawn from thence, but certainly there is nothing in the Doctor's Sermon but what may be abundantly justified by the declaration in that Act.

"The Militia Act, the 13th and 14th Car. 2, Cap. 3, for ordering the Forces in the several counties of this Kingdom, contains a declaration as strong as the former: By that Act 'tis declared, that 'neither both or either of the houses of Parliament can, or lawfully may, raise or levy any War, offensive or defensive, against His Majesty, his heirs, or lawful successors.' When I perused this last declaration in the recital of the Act, I read carefully to the end of it, to look for the exception, but could find none. If there be no exception in that Act, but that it stands as a general declaration of the law; if neither, nor both the houses of Parliament can or may raise or levy War, offensive or defensive, against the King, is it a high crime and misdemeanor to assert in general terms that resistance to our Prince is unlawful? Pray, my Lords, compare the Doctor's assertion in his Sermon with the declaration in this last Act of Parliament.

"By the Corporation Act, 13 Car. 2. Sess. 2. Cap. 1, all mayors, aldermen, common-councilmen, and other corporate officers there enumerated, are required to take an oath, that 'it is not

lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King.' By the Militia Act, which I have already mentioned, the same oath, that 'it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King,' is required to be taken by every Peer of the realm, before he is capable of acting as a Lieutenant or Deputy-Lieutenant; and by every Commoner of England, before he can be capable of acting as a Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant, officer or soldier in the Militia. By the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. 2, Cap. 4, all ecclesiastical persons, and many others under the several denominations in that Act, are required to subscribe to the truth of that assertion, that 'it is not lawful on any Pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King.' This is the language of our laws, and the like do the Apostles use in their precepts teaching obedience and nonresistance to the supreme power.

"But here, I ought to observe, an objection has been made to these several Acts, that by an Act made in the second year of the late King and Queen, 'tis enacted, 'that from thenceforth the oath enjoined to be taken or subscribed by the several Acts I have mention'd, should not be required to be taken by any person whatsoever; and that the former Acts of Parliament, as to that oath, are thereby repealed.' 'Tis a very tender repeal, my Lords, if it be one; but admit

it to be one, it seems to have been argued from thence by a learned gentleman, with whom in many things he said I no way differ, that this doctrine of non-resistance was become the more unlawful, because that oath was not to be taken from thenceforward.

"My Lords, as the Corporation Act required the swearing 'twas not lawful to take up arms against the King, so does it direct the subscribing to the unlawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant; Now, by the same argument, the Solemn League and Covenant may be proved to have been a lawful oath.

"I beseech your Lordships to consider, whether the repeal of this oath can have any weight with your Lordships. 'Twas a general assertion, to which all the Peers and Commoners, in the employments I have mention'd, were to swear; there is no exception in the oath, but what is implied in it. Was not the Proposition as true before it was sworn, as after? Was it therefore true because 'twas sworn, or was it sworn because it was true? Did the swearing it make it true, or the truth make it fit to be sworn? If it was true when it was sworn, the proposition was equally true before, and since. I believe, since the oath was taken by so many Peers and Commoners, no man will pretend to question the truth of the proposition.

"My Lords, I have gone through the several laws I shall lay before your Lordships on this occasion, and let me once more humbly beg your Lordships that you will be pleased to compare the Doctor's assertion in his Sermon concerning the illegality of resistance with them; whether it be stronger than the declaration of the undoubted and fundamental law of the Kingdom, in the Act against the regicides; than the declaration in the Militia Act; than the oath required to be taken by so many Acts of Parliament; than the declaration of the 25th Edward 3rd. All the Doctor has said is, that 'resistance to the supreme power is illegal on any pretence whatsoever.' All the Peers and Commoners of England, under the characters and employments I have mention'd, have sworn to the truth of it; the 25th Edward 3rd declares it to be high treason; and your Lordships have heard what St. Paul says.

"My Lords, I began this discourse, relating to the doctrine of our Church and the laws of the land, with the most sincere protestation, that it was far from my intention to offer any thing inconsistent with the justice of the revolution; I think the justice of it consistent with our laws, the exceptions to be made being always implied: and surely none can show themselves truer friends to the revolution, than those who prove that the revolution may stand without impeaching the doctrines of our Church, or any fundamental law of the Kingdom.

"Doctor Sacheverell being impeach'd for not making the exception when he laid down the general rule, I beg leave to turn the case, and suppose he had made it. Had he been stating the case of a revolution, on a day when he press'd the illegality of resistance, on a day when, if he did not preach, he was obliged to read one of the homilies against rebellion, in which there is no exception; had he been picking holes for the Subject to creep out of his allegiance, and had he been cited before his Diocesan, might he not have been questioned on what authority he presumed to preach in that manner? whether he found such doctrine taught by the Apostles, by the homilies, or by any of the reverend fathers of our Church? Might he not have been told it was his duty, in imitation of those great examples, to press the general duty of obedience, and the illegality of resistance, without making any exception whatsoever? Had he been question'd before the temporal power for preaching in the manner he has done, had an indictment been fram'd against him on his general assertion, and brought before the twelve judges, I humbly apprehend, not one of them would have declar'd he went too far: but had he been making exceptions out of the general rule of obedience, especially if he had been tried by such judges as were before the revolution, might he not have been told, 'twas easie to discern what spirit he was of, of what party he was, and what he aim'd at, what he intended, that he had not been preaching in defence of the late revolution, to show the justice of it; but that he was covering the treason of his heart, and under pretence of justifying one revolution, he was labouring to bring about another; he who knew how far the design had gone of landing the Pretender but two years since, what else could he mean by picking holes in the rules for our obedience?

"I have but a word or two to add to the other charges of this article: the gentlemen of the House of Commons were pleas'd to observe, that though there were four articles, the substance of them all centered in the first. The second charge in this article is, 'that his late Majesty in his declaration disclaimed the least imputation of resistance.'

"It is not, I hope, a sufficient ground for an article of impeachment, if the Doctor has expressed himself in an obscure manner; I must confess I can't easily comprehend him myself, but it may be any man's misfortune to express himself in such a manner, as to make it decent and fit for him to explain himself: and, I hope, the Doctor has explained himself so as to show,

that, though he may have spoken improperly, he has yet spoken innocently. The gentlemen of the House of Commons declare by resistance they mean the resistance of the Subject to their Sovereign; but resistance, where the Doctor mentions his late Majesty to have disclaim'd it, cannot have that meaning: he was a Sovereign Prince, and might resist whom he pleased. Perhaps the passage in the Doctor's Sermon may be capable of different constructions, but the Doctor has taken care to prevent all manner of mistakes that might possibly arise from thence.

"He has not only (as was observed by one of the gentlemen of the House of Commons) made a marginal reference to show what he meant, which might have been done when he apprehended that expression would be found fault with; but he has in the Sermon itself quoted what the Parliament did, in burning a treatise which related to the King's having conquered the Kingdom.

"My Lords, it was asked what had he to do to take notice of that matter, what led him to justify the late King? Was there ever anybody living that imputed any such thing as conquest to him? My Lords, if there never was but that one imputation endeavoured to be cast on his memory, as I never heard of any other, surely then he did well to wipe off that imputation; and that this has been laid to his charge, I must refer

to the journals of both Houses of Parliament. Your Lordships resolv'd the assertion of King William and Queen Mary's being King and Queen by conquest, was injurious to their Majesties' rightful title to the Crown, inconsistent with the principles on which this Government is founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people: and on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January, 1692, your resolution being communicated to the Commons, was unanimously agreed to.

"The last part of this article is, 'that to impute resistance to the revolution, is to cast black and odious colours on his late Majesty, and the said revolution.' My Lords, there are these words in the Doctor's Sermon, of 'casting black and odious colours on his late Majesty and the revolution:' they are in the close of a sentence, which immediately precedes the expression of his late Majesty's disclaiming the least imputation of resistance: it is impossible to mistake the place, your Lordships will examine it, and from thence let him take his fate, whether that passage is applicable to what went before it, or to what follows after. Those words of 'casting black and . odious colours,' are so far from referring to 'his late Majesty's disclaiming the imputation of resistance,' that they conclude the sentence which went before it, in which the Doctor mentions 'new preachers and new teachers, that broach'd

abominable positions, that the people have a right to cancel their allegiance at pleasure, to call their Sovereign to account, and who pretend to justifie the horrid murder of the Royal Martyr King Charles the First, and endeavour to screen themselves, and their vile notions, under the revolution.'

"The Doctor, having mentioned these new preachers and their doctrine, goes on,-'our adversaries think they effectually stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this point, when they urge the revolution of this day in their defence. But certainly they are the greatest enemies of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious colours upon both.' I pray, my Lords, what does this refer to, don't it clear the revolution against the venom of those miscreants who publish such villanous assertions as these? But 'twas objected by a learned gentleman, what has a minister to do to meddle with these things? If any man offends against the temporal or Ecclesiastical laws, the Courts are open, the magistrates are to punish.

"My Lords, I don't find, if this doctrine holds, that he must preach against anything; if he must not preach against anything which may be prosecuted, either in the temporal or Ecclesiastical Courts, he must not preach against any

offence that is forbid by the ten commandments. Perhaps it will be urg'd that there are no such people as these new preachers and new teachers, that he is raising a phantom, and then throwing it down; he is only imagining cases, of which there are no instances; that there are no such men who endeavour to justifie the murder of King Charles, or defend it by the revolution. We will show there are too many instances of such persons who make no scruple to publish these positions, and cast reflections on the Queen and her Government, whom the Doctor has been defending. He is not the person he has been represented, he hath no disloyal thoughts about him: sure I am, he would rather die in Her Majesty's defence.

"We shall show your Lordships that there are such as run most vile comparisons between the revolution and the most execrable murder of King Charles the First, and can find no better difference between them, than this abominable distinction of a 'wet martyrdom and a dry one.'"

## Extract from Coxe's "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole."

I N Coxe's "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," pub. 1798, we find the following observations upon this remarkable trial:—

"The result of this ill-judged trial was far different from the event which Godolphin and his friends weakly expected. The triumph of the Tories was evident from the lenity of the sentence, which only ordered that the Sermon should be burnt by the common hangman, and suspended Sacheverell from preaching during 3 years.

"The unpopularity of the ministers was highly increased, the inclination of the Queen in favour of their opponents was ostentatiously manifested. The populace was inflamed; and the consequence of this act of imprudence and precipitation, was the downfall of those who hoped to find in the condemnation of Sacheverell the revival of their popularity, and the establishment of their power.

"It may not perhaps in this place be improper to observe, that the fatal and mischievous consequences which resulted from the trial of Sacheverell, had a permanent effect on the future conduct of Walpole, when he was afterwards placed at the head of administration. It infused into him an aversion and horror at any interposition in the affairs of the Church, and led him to assume occasionally a line of conduct which appeared to militate against those principles of general toleration to which he was naturally inclined. Soon after the removal of the Whig administration, Walpole published a pamphlet on this remarkable trial, entitled,—'Four letters to a friend in North Britain upon the publishing the trial of Dr Sacheverell.'

"The first letter states the particulars which preceded the trial; the second, those which accompanied it; the third, those which followed it; and the fourth displays the consequences. The purport of this publication was to prove in clear and familiar language, and by a plain but strong deduction of reasoning, that the abettors of Sacheverell were the abettors of the Pretender, and that those who agreed with him to condemn such resistance as dethroned the Father, could have no other meaning than the restitution of the Son.

"The Whigs were beginning to lose their popularity, when the trial of Sacheverell raised a ferment in the nation, and excited a general outcry against them. The minority, and particularly the

Duke of Marlborough, was accused of protracting the war for their own interests, and this calumny was finally believed.

"During the trial of Sacheverell, when their unpopularity increased, Harley was admitted, by the introduction of Mrs. Masham, to several private interviews with the Queen, in which he endeavoured to persuade her to dismiss the Ministry. But as she was of a timid, procrastinating disposition, he had great difficulty in succeeding.

"Many of the Whigs hesitated, and delayed their resignation. Devonshire, Henry Boyle, Wharton, Somers and Cowper were among the few leaders who resigned with spirit and dignity. Lord Chancellor Cowper, in particular, behaved with unexampled firmness and honour. He rejected with scorn all the overtures which Harley made in the most humble and supplicating manner to induce him to continue in office.

"The repeated importunities of Her Majesty drew the audience into the length of three quarters of an hour. On the following day his resignation was accepted, and soon afterwards the seals were given to Sir Simon Harcourt. Harley's promises or threats were alike ineffectual with Walpole. He tried to make him moderate his opposition against the new members, but his constant answer was—'Make a safe and honorable peace, and preserve the Protestant succession, and you will have

no opposition.' Walpole acted on this occasion an honorable and disinterested part. In the wreck of the great administration, Harley, desirous of retaining in power several of the Whigs, with a view to counterbalance the credit of S<sup>t</sup>. John and Harcourt, who already began to give him umbrage, endeavoured to gain Walpole. He made very flattering advances, told him that he was worth half his party, and pressed him to continue in administration; but all his efforts proved ineffectual."

### Extract from Hallam's "Constitutional History of England."

HALLAM, in his "Constitutional History of England," published 1827, writes thus:—

"The Lords voted Sacheverell guilty by a majority of 67 to 59. They passed a slight sentence, interdicting him only from preaching for three years. This was deemed a sort of triumph by his adherents; but a severe punishment on a wretch so insignificant would have been misplaced—and the sentence may be compared to the nominal damages sometimes given in a suit instituted for the trial of a great right.

"The Doctor, says Lockhart, employed Sir Simon, afterwards Lord Harcourt, and Sir Constantine Phipps as his counsel, who defended him the best way they could, though they were hard put to it to maintain the hereditary right and unlimited doctrine of non-resistance, and not condemn the Revolution; and the truth of it is, that these are so inconsistent with one another, that the chief arguments alleged in this and other

parallel cases, came to no more than this, that the revolution was an exception from the nature of government in general, and the constitution and laws of Britain in particular, which necessity, in that particular case, made expedient and lawful.

"The Homilies are so much more vehement against resistance than Sacheverell was, that it would have been awkward to pass a rigorous sentence on him.

"In fact, he or any other clergyman had a right to preach the Homily against rebellion instead of a sermon. As to their laying down general rules without adverting to the exceptions, an apology which the managers set up for them, it was just as good for Sacheverell, and the homilies expressly deny all possible exceptions.

"Tillotson had a plan of dropping these old compositions, which in some doctrinal points, as well as in the tenet of non-resistance, do not represent the sentiments of the modern Church, though, in a general way, it subscribes to them; but the times were not ripe for this or some other of that good prelate's designs."

## Extract from Yord Mahon's "History of England."

LORD MAHON, in his "History of England," Fourth Edition, says:—

"Another party-matter was the favour shown by the House of Commons to D<sup>r</sup>. Sacheverell. The sentence of the House of Lords forbidding him to preach during the space of three years expired on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, and on the Sunday following he held forth for the first time at his own church of S<sup>t</sup>. Saviour's, and taking for his text the words, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' drew an unseemly parallel between his own sufferings and the Redeemer's Passion.

"The House of Commons, anxious to show their disapprobation of the former proceedings against him, appointed him to the honour of preaching before them on the Restoration-day, and the Court was no less forward in conferring a rich benefice upon him. Never perhaps had any man attained a higher pitch of popularity; we are told that as he passed to and from the House of Lords, on his trial, the bystanders used eagerly to press about him, and strive for the happiness of kissing his hands. We are told that on his journey through Wales, even our princes in their progresses could scarcely have vied with his reception, that the day on which his sentence expired was celebrated not only in London, but in several parts of the country with extraordinary rejoicings. Would not all this appear to imply that he must have possessed some degree of talent or merit?

"Yet the concurrent testimony of some of his friends, as well as of his enemies, represented him as utterly foolish, ignorant, ungrateful, his head reeling with vanity, his heart overflowing with gall. This venerated idol, when we come to try its substance, appears little more than a stock or a stone.

"But Sacheverell was considered as the representative of a popular party doctrine, as the champion and the martyr of the High Church cause; and the multitude, which always looks to persons much more than to principles, can rarely be won over, until even the clearest maxim appears embodied in some favourite leader."

### Extract from Professor Smyth's "Lectures on Modern History."

THE next extract I shall give of remarks upon this subject, is taken from the second volume of "Lectures on Modern History," by Smyth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. He says:—

"Among the different transactions of a domestic nature that took place in the reign of Anne, I would particularly recommend to your study the proceedings in the case of  $D^r$ . Sacheverell.

"I recommend them, not on account of any interest that can now belong either to the doctor or his sermon, neither of which are in themselves deserving of the slightest regard; but on account of the lively picture that is here exhibited of the times, and above all, of the manner in which the great Revolution of 1688 was explained and defended by the first statesmen of the country about twenty years after the event.

"And it is in this spirit, and for this purpose, that I would wish the student to read them, not as a juror who was to decide whether the Doctor was or was not guilty of the charge preferred against him, but as an enquirer into the history of our constitution, as one who is to observe the political principles exhibited on this occasion by the managers of the House of Commons, by Sacheverell's defender, by the Lords, and by the nation. The trial is ever memorable, because at this trial the Revolution was avowed to be a case of resistance—resistance justified indeed by the necessity of the case, but still resistance.

"All the time of the Revolution, it may be remembered that the Houses of Parliament, or rather the House of Commons in their celebrated vote, had rested their justification on somewhat various, and indeed on very inconsistent grounds, 'that King James having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant.'

"That is, in other words, the Whigs, for the sake of the Tories, stated the Revolution to be a case of abdication; and for the sake of themselves, a breach of the original contract, i.e. a case of resistance.

"But on the present occasion, the preamble to the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverell begins in this remarkable manner:—'Whereas his late Majesty King William III., then Prince of Orange, did with an armed force undertake a glorious enterprise for delivering the kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power, and divers subjects of this realm, well affected to their country, joined with and assisted his late Majesty in this late enterprise; and it having pleased Almighty God to crown the same with success, the late happy Revolution did take effect and was established; and whereas the said glorious enterprise is approved by several Acts of Parliament, &c.' And the first article of the impeachment was, that Dr. Sacheverell had maintained that to impute resistance to the said Revolution, was to cast black and odious colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution.

"Now the difference in the tone and language of the Whigs forms the remarkable part of these proceedings, and nothing can be more curious than to observe how the different parties comported themselves—the Whigs, the Tories, the Church, and the Queen—on this great occasion, in the presence of the nation, and in reality, of subsequent ages.

"The doctrines of resistance are not doctrines which can find their way into the courts of law of any country, or be the language of the public ordinances of any regular government. These doctrines, therefore, could not be stated by the

Whig manager of the impeachment, in the presence of all the constituted dignity and authority of the realm, without the strongest qualifications, without distinguishing the case of the Revolution from every other ordinary case, without considering it as a case of the most overpowering necessity—by necessity, and by that alone, to be either explained or justified.

"In our own times, therefore, on the breaking out of the French Revolution, when Mr. Burke had to vindicate his own account of this Revolution of 1688, his own representation of the spirit by which it was conducted, and the true nature and tenure of the Government formed in consequence of it, he immediately appealed to the speeches of the Whig managers on this very occasion; and it was easy for him to show that the Revolution was then justified only on the necessity of the case, as the only means left for the recovery of that ancient constitution formed by the original contract of the British state, as well as for the future preservation of the same government. Now though I think allowance must be made for the peculiar situation in which the managers in Dr. Sacheverell's trial stood, and the necessity they were under to qualify to the utmost their doctrines of resistance; still, it is sufficient for Mr. Burke, that their doctrines, unless so qualified, could not be produced and defended before the lawyers and

statesmen of the country, could not be produced as doctrines worthy to be recognized by, and to be a part of, the constitution of England.

"The next question that remains is, what reply was made to the Whig managers by the defenders of Sacheverell? How were the doctrines of resistance, thus stated and limited, received? were they controverted? Far from it: when once modified, they were at once admitted. And therefore, when thus modified, they may be considered as the constitutional doctrines of the realm.

"But the interest of the trial does not cease here, for Dr. Sacheverell having fortified his own doctrines of passive obedience by the authority of the Church of England, and the most able divines and prelates from the time of the Reformation, a very large field of disquisition was opened, and the question was very solemnly considered whether passive obedience had or had not been the doctrine of the Church of England, and of its most able and learned divines. The grounds to be taken by the reasoners on the Tory side were obvious: quotations were to be produced from the proper authorities, to show that the doctrines of passive obedience had been laid down, and without any exception; that such had been the ordinary practice of our divines, and that the doctor only followed their example.

"This was done. But the Whig prelates and

lawyers contended that rules of duty, like those of civil obedience, could only be taught by the Scriptures (and therefore by the Church and its divines) in general terms, and that exceptions in extreme cases, like those of the Revolution, were necessarily implied from the very nature and common reason of the case.

"And what was now the ground taken by the Doctor's counsel? The propriety of this reasoning, and of this view of the case, was admitted by the Doctor's counsel. Now, as this solution of the difficulty, however reasonable, and however acted upon by the divines of the Church of England themselves, had never before been publicly stated and admitted as the proper theory on the subject, some advance must be considered as having been made on this occasion (and one favourable to the general principles of civil liberty), and in a quarter where, of all others, it is most desirable to find it.

"There was another very important topic started on this memorable occasion. The doctor was accused of maintaining that the toleration granted by law was unreasonable, and its allowance unwarrantable. This led to an assertion of the doctrine of toleration by the Whig managers. The defence of the doctor's counsel, the very able Sir Simon Harcourt and others, was such an admission of the principle in theory, and such a mere quibbling and special pleading with respect to

the point of fact, that the general doctrine of toleration must be considered as having become, on this occasion, like the qualified doctrine of resistance, the regular and constitutional doctrine of the land.

"I have mentioned these particulars from a hope of inducing my hearers to believe that this trial will afford them abundant matter for amusement and instruction, even though the particular question of the doctor's criminality be or be not considered.

"The circumstance also which I have just adverted to, of the reference made by the great political moralist of our own times, Mr. Burke, to this very trial in one of his celebrated productions, and that at the distance of a century, may serve I think, to remind you of the importance of history and of historical documents, and the necessity there is that those who wish to be statesmen should in the first place be conversant with the occurrences that have taken place in our own country, the reasonings to which they have given rise, the principles which they seem to have established.

"The speeches, as they are reported in the trial, appear probably in a much more concise and condensed form than that in which they were delivered: and though they have thus gained something in manliness and strength, they have

no doubt lost much in elegance and grace: yet they are, on the whole, very creditable to the talents of the speakers.

"I must make one observation more to recommend these remarkable proceedings to your examination. The great characteristic distinction of this period of our history is the Revolution, the interest our ancestors took in it, the manner in which it was understood, and the chances of its success or failure. And the Revolution is still the great characteristic feature of our constitution and government—it must ever remain so. And when the inhabitants of this country are indifferent to the subject, they will probably soon arrive at a state of permanent political degradation: sooner or later at a total loss of those honorable English feelings, that love of freedom, and that jealousy of power, by which they were before so happily distinguished.

"But to conclude the subject. From this celebrated impeachment of Sacheverell, two good effects followed: first, that there now exists upon record a full assertion of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, made in the presence of all the authority, dignity, and wisdom of the realm, and to every practical purpose an admission and acknowledgment.

"Secondly, that though the impeachment in this important respect answered the purposes of the Whigs, as patriots and lovers of the constitution of their country, and as far as posterity was concerned, it by no means answered their purposes as leaders of a party. The doctor became the object of the most ridiculous idolatry, and they themselves and their politics were precipitated to their decline and fall.

"This impeachment, therefore, became in this manner an example which never has or can be forgotten, to show the risk that is always run of exalting into importance an author and his writings by public prosecutions: of giving fame and popularity to the one, and circulation and influence to the other. Now this effect thus produced, is a good effect for the restraint that ministers and attorney-generals are thus laid under on the mere point of prudence and policy, and operates most favorably for the liberty of the press. That liberty would be soon destroyed and entirely at an end, if every writing or pamphlet that must necessarily appear a libel in a court of law, was to be instantly seized upon and dragged to judgment, by those who are bound from their office to defend the established order of the community.

"Such men are always tempted, from their situation, however amiable they may individually be, to urge the rights and extend the limits of authority too far.

"It is very happy, that from the experience

of this and other similar prosecutions, the wisdom of leaving publications, if possible, unnoticed, has become a sort of maxim which is seldom departed from but by petulant, narrow-minded men—men who are mere lawyers, and who it is to be hoped, on such occasions, mean well, for this is the only merit they can plead."

#### Family Pedigree sent by the Duc de Harcourt to Lord Chancellor Harcourt in the year 1713.

OUIS par la grace de Dieu, ROY DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE: A tous presens et à venir, SALUT. Nous avons reconnu dans nôtre Royaume tant de personnes qui se sont distinguées par de grandes actions, que l'inclination naturelle que Nous avons à recompenser la vertu, Nous a engagé à les élever au dessus des autres, par des charges, des dignitez et des honneurs qui puissent, en remplissant la Noble ambition qui les anime, exciter en même tems dans les autres le desir de meriter de si hautes récompenses: mais entre tous ceux qui reçoivent des marques éclatantes de la satisfaction que Nous avons des services signalez qu'ils Nous rendent et à nôtre Etat, la justice et la prudence Nous ont toûjours fait préferer dans la distribution des plus grandes graces, ceux qui joignent à une ancienne naissance et à des actions illustres de leurs Ancêtres, la gloire particuliere que le

merite personel et des services distinguez leur ont acquis dans les emplois qui leur ont été confiez; toutes ces considérations se rencontrent éminemment dans la personne de nôtre trés-cher et bien amé cousin Henry de Harcourt Lieutenant Général en nos Armées, il a toutes les qualitez nécessaires pour être élevé à tout ce qu'il y a de plus considérable, une naissance si ancienne qu'on en trouve des preuves dans les siecles les plus éloignez, des Ancêtres aussi distinguez par les services qu'ils ont rendus, que par leur naissance, plusieurs Alliances avec les premieres Maisons Souveraines. et en son particulier un mérite reconnu par un grand nombre d'actions de valeur et de prudence dans nos Armées; sa Maison tire son origine de Bernard le Danois un des Seigneurs de Danemark, qui vinrent en Normandie avec Rolo qui en fut le premier Duc en l'an 876. de qui Bernard le Danois eût la Seigneurie d'Harcourt et plusieurs autres Terres; il fut fait aussi Gouverneur de Normandie, et Tuteur de Richard premier petit fils du Duc Rolo, et les descendans de ce Bernard ont été revêtus des premieres Charges et honorez d'Alliances fort Illustres; Jean II. Sieur d'Harcourt épousa en premieres Noces Agnez de Lorraine, et en secondes Jeanne Vicomtesse de Chastellerault en 1288. Il a été aussi Mareschal de France sous Philippes le Hardy, et Amiral de France sous Philippes le Bel en 1293. Jean III.

Sieur d'Harcourt épousa Alix de Brabant en 1302. Jean IV. Sieur d'Harcourt épousa Isabeau de Partenay; le Roy Philippes de Vallois ayant érigé en sa faveur la baronnie d'Harcourt en Comté en 1338, on voit par les Lettres d'érection que les Terres d'Elbeuf et de Lislebonne en faisoient lors partie, et Philippes de Vallois y déclare que Jean IV. étoit descendu de même Sang que la Reine son Epouse qui étoit Jeanne de Bourgogne fille de Robert II. Duc de Bourgogne, et d'Agnez de France. Jean V. Comte d'Harcourt épousa en 1340. Blanche de Pontieu Comtesse d'Aumale. Princesse de Castille, et de la branche des Comtes de Ponthieu, fille de Jean de Castille Comte de Ponthieu et de Catherine d'Artois, et petite fille de Ferdinand III. Roy de Castille et de Leon. Jean V. eut trois enfans mâles qui ont formé autant de branches differentes, l'aîné fut Jean VI. Comte d'Harcourt qui épousa en 1374. Catherine de Bourbon sœur puînée de Jeanne de Bourbon Reine de France, Epouse de Charles V. et les mâles de cette branche ont fini en la personne de Jean VII. qui épousa Marie d'Alençon; Marie de Harcourt qui étoit issuë de leur Mariage, fut mariée à Antoine de Lorraine Comte de Vaudemont en 1440, et porta pour cette alliance tous les biens de cette branche dans la Maison de Lorraine qui les possede encore à present : la seconde branche qui commença par Jacques de Harcourt

puîné, marié à Jeanne d'Anghien en 1374. a fin en la personne de Guillaume de Harcourt Comte de Tancarville son petit fils, et Marie de Harcourt sa sœur qui succeda à tous les biens de cette branche, les porta dans la Maison de Longueville par son Mariage avec Jean d'Orleans Comte de Dunois et de Longueville. Philippes de Harcourt III. fils de Jean V. a formé la troisiéme branche, il épousa en 1374. Jeanne de Tilly Dame de Tilly et de Beuvron, ses descendans se sont distinguez par leurs services dans les Armées par les Charges qu'ils ont possedé de nos Lieutenans Generaux de nôtre Province de Normandie, et de Vice-Amiral, et par les Alliances qu'ils ont contracté dans les Maisons de Grasville, de Gaillon, de Chabot, d'Espinay et de Matignon, issûës de Connestables, de Mareschaux de France, et autres grands Officiers de nôtre Couronne, et alliez des Maisons de Montmorency, de Chastillon, de Bretagne, de Flandres et d'Angleterre; cette troisiéme branche qui est la seule masculine subsistant à present, en a formé deux autres; l'une est celle de Harcourt d'Ollonde; et l'autre celle de Harcourt Beuvron, de laquelle est nôtre cousin, si tost qu'il a été en état de nous servir, il nous a fait connoître que ses actions répondroient à sa Naissance; il a commencé en 1673. en qualité d'Aide de Camp de nôtre Cousin le Vicomte de Turenne, et ayant continué à nous servir l'année

suivante dans le même emploi, il se trouva aux combats de Zeintzeim, de Saint François et de Turkim, et Nous fumes si contens de la valeur qu'il y fit paroître, et de la maniere dont il s'y distingua, qu'en 1675. Nous luy confiâmes un Regiment d'Infanterie, et en 1677. son mérite augmentant, Nous le mîmes à la tête de nôtre Regiment de Picardie, il Nous servit en cette qualité au Siege de Valencienne, de Cambray et de Fribourg, et mérita par la maniere dont il se conduisit, et par les services que nôtre cher et bien amé François de Harcourt de Beuvron son pere Nous a rendus avec toute la satisfaction possible en qualité de Lieutenant General de nos Armées, et qu'il continuë de Nous rendre encore en celle de nôtre Lieutenant General au Gouvernement de nôtre Province de Normandie, d'obtenir de Nous en l'année 1678. la survivance de cette Charge; la connoissance que Nous avions de ce qu'il avoit fait jusqu'alors pour nôtre Service, et de ses grands talens pour la Guerre, Nous porterent à le faire Brigadier d'Infanterie en l'année 1683. La Guerre ayant recommencé en l'année 1688. Nous le fîmes Mareschal de nos Camps et Armées, et il se trouva en cette qualité au Siege de Philisbourg, où il continua de Nous donner des marques de sa vigilance, de sa capacité et de son application, ce qui Nous porta à luy confier en l'année 1600, le Commandement de la Ville et

du Païs de Luxembourg, et Nous avons pris depuis une si grande confiance en sa valeur et en son habileté, que pendant la derniere Guerre Nous luy avons toûjours donné le Commandement en Chef d'un Corps d'Armée considérable: En l'année 1692. il s'opposa à un Corps de plus de quatre mille Chevaux des Troupes de Brandebourg, de Munster et de Neufbourg, qui vouloient entrer dans le Païs de Luxembourg; il les combattit à Ourteville si à propos, qu'il les défit entierement, et que le Comte de Vesle qui en étoit Géneral, y fut fait prisonnier: Nous le choisîmes la même année pour faire la retraite de l'Armée qui avoit assiegé Reinfeds, ce qu'il a executé malgré la rigueur de la saison, sans que les ennemis osassent rien entreprendre dans sa retraite, quoiqu'ils eussent une Armée beaucoup plus forte, commandée par le Langrave de Hessecassel: la satisfaction que nous recevions de luy augmentant tous les jours, pour sa bonne conduite, Nous luy donnâmes en 1693, la Charge de Lieutenant General de nos Armées, et Nous le sîmes Gouverneur de Tournay; ce fut dans cette même année qu'il contribua si considérablement à la grande et signalée Victoire que Nous remportâmes sur nos ennemis à Nervindes, par la diligence avec laquelle il y amena les Troupes qui étoient sous son Commandement, quoi qu'eloignées de sept lieuës; et par la valeur et la dexterité avec laquelle il combatit à leur

tête: Nous le choisîmes en 1696, pour commander en chef sous le Roy d'Angleterre l'Armée que Nous avions destinée pour ce Prince; la Guerre étant finie en 1697, par la Paix que Nous donnâmes à l'Europe, Nous jettâmes les yeux sur nôtredit Cousin pour l'envoyer nôtre Ambassadeur Extraordinaire en Espagne, et étant bien persuadez que la délicatesse de son esprit, jointe à la grande prudence dont il acompagne toutes ses actions, le rendroient aussi capable de Nous servir dans les négociations les plus importantes, que de commander nos Armées, et nôtredit Cousin a si justement répondu à la haute opinion que Nous avions de luy, qu'aprés luy avoir donné le Commandement en Chef de l'Armée que Nous avions résolu d'assembler à Bayonne, et que les sages et justes dispositions du feu Roy d'Espagne ont rendu inutiles, Nous avons jugé à propos de le renvoyer encore à Madrid en qualité de nôtre Ambassadeur Extraordinaire où Nous ne doutons pas que nous ne recevions de nouvelles marques de sa capacité, de son zéle et de son affection à nôtre Service dans une conjoncture aussi importante que celle de nôtre trés-cher et amé Frere et petit Fils Philippes V. sur le Trône d'une aussi Grande Monarchie que celle d'Espagne: tant de Services si importans en Paix et en Guerre, tant de qualitez si rares et si éminentes, méritent bien une récompense qui passe à sa posterité, et qui

soit proportionnée à son mérite personnel, et à la grandeur de sa Naissance, et comme Nous n'en avons point dans nôtre Royaume qui soit au dessus de la dignité de Duc, par tous les avantages qui y sont attachez, Nous portans d'autant plus volontiers à luy acorder cette grace, que les Terres qui le composeront sont fort considérables, tant par leurs revenus, que par les beaux droits qui y apartiennent; la Terre, Seigneurie, et Marquisat de Thurry, sur laquelle il desire que l'érection soit faite, est située en nôtre Province de Normandie, mouvante de Nous à cause de nôtre Ville, Château et Vicomté de Falaize, elle fut érigée en Marquisat par Lettres Patentes du mois de Septembre 1578. elle a droit de haute, moyenne et basse Justice, dont les apellations ressortissent nuëment en nôtre Cour de Parlement de Normandie, et plusieurs autres droits considérables, comme Garennes, Foires, Marchez, Peages et autres, même le Droit de Séance en nôtredite Cour de Parlement à Roüen, avec les Bois et Francs Buissons de cinq lays en dépendans qui sont pareillement mouvans de Nous, et le Fief et Seigneurie de S. Benin, la Terre et Seigneurie, Dupont, Doüilly, circonstances et dépendances, et la Fiefferme de Crosilles unie au Marquisat de Thurry, ensemble la Terre et Seigneurie de la Mothe Harcourt érigée en Marquisat par Lettres Patentes du mois d'Aoust 1593. avec les bois de la Mothe et Grainbault en dépendans,

situez dans les Francs Buissons de cinq lays, lesdites Terres et Marquisat mouvans de Nous à cause de nôtre Duché de Normandie, ayant ladite Terre de la Mothe Harcourt, le droit de haute, moyenne et basse Justice, dont les apellations ressortiront aussi nuëment en nôtredite Cour de Parlement de Roüen, et plusieurs autres droits considérables; comme aussi la Terre et Seigneurie de S. Martin de Sallons mouvante aussi de Nous à cause de nôtre Duché de Normandie; celle de Beauvoir, et celle du Chastellier mouvante de celle de la Mothe Harcourt, et en faisant partie aussi bien que celle de S. Martin de Sallons; toutes lesquelles Terres, Seigneuries et Marquisats sont également capables de soûtenir la dignité Ducalle, tant par leurs grands revenus que par la considération dont elles sont par elles-mêmes. POUR CES CAUSES, et autres grandes considérations à ce Nous mouvans, de nôtre grace spécialle, pleine puissance, et autorité Royale, avons créé, érigé, élevé et décoré, et par ces Presentes signées de nôtre main, créons, érigeons, elevons et décorons ladite Terre, Seigneurie et Marquisat de Thurry, en Titre, dignité et prééminence de Duché, sous le nom de Harcourt; avons à cet effet uni et unissons par cesdites Presentes à ladite Terre et Duché de Harcourt, les Bois et Francs-Buissons de cinq lays, le Fief et Seigneurie de Saint Benin, la Terre et Seigneurie

du Pont Doüilly, la Fiefferme de Croisille unie audit Marquisat de Thurry, ensemble la Terre, Seigneurie et Marquisat de la Mothe Harcourt, avec les Bois de la Mothe et Grainbault en dépendans; comme aussi les Terres et Seigneuries de S. Martin de Sallons, celle de Beauvoir et du Chastelier, avec tous les droits, prérogatives et mouvances qui leur apartiennent, pour ne composer à l'avenir qu'une seule et même Terre sous ledit Titre et dignité de Duché de Harcourt, à l'effet de quoi, Nous avons, de nôtre même grace et autorité que dessus, changé et commué, et par cesdites Presentes, changeons et commuons le nom de ladite Terre de Thurry en celui de Harcourt, pour par nôtredit Cousin Henry de Harcourt, ses enfans et décendans, mâles en ligne directe, nés et à naître en loyal mariage, joüir à perpetuité, comme Seigneurs proprietaires dudit Duché, des titres, honneurs, dignitez, rang, prérogatives, prééminences, privileges qui y apartiennent, ainsi qu'en joüissent les autres Ducs de nôtre Royaume, soit dans les Assemblées de Noblesse, faits de Guerre et autres lieux ; Voulons et Nous plaît, que toutes les Causes civiles et criminelles, mixtes et réelles qui concerneront, tant nôtredit Cousin le Duc de Harcourt, que les droits dudit Duché, soient traitées et jugées en nôtre Cour de Parlement à Paris en premiere Instance, et que les Causes et procés d'entre les Vassaux et Justiciables dudit Duché, ressortissent par apel des Juges dudit Duché en nôtre Cour de Parlement de Normandie, et à cét effet avons distrait et exempté lesdites Terres, Marquisats et leurs dépendances, et par cesdites Presentes les distrayons et exemptons du ressort de tous autres Juges et Jurisdictions, où les apellations desdits Officiers avoient accoûtumé de ressortir, sans préjudice neanmoins des cas Royaux, dont la connoissance demeurera à nos Juges, qui avoient accoûtumé d'en connoître, le tout à la charge d'indemniser nos Officiers; Voulons que nôtredit Cousin le Duc de Harcourt tienne ledit Duché nuëment et en plein Fief de Nous, à cause de nôtre Couronne, et qu'il releve de nôtre Tour du Louvre, sous une seule foy et hommage, qu'il sera tenu de nous porter en ladite qualité de Duc: Entendons neanmoins que les Aveux dudit Duché soient rendus en nôtre Chambre des Comptes de Normandie; Voulons que les Vassaux de nôtredit Cousin le reconnoissent comme Duc, et lui rendent les devoirs ausquels ils sont tenus en ladite qualité, sans neanmoins que les droits et devoirs desdits Vassaux soient augmentez en aucune maniere; et pour l'exercice de la Jurisdiction dudit Duché, nôtredit Cousin le Duc de Harcourt poura établir un Siege Ducal audit lieu de Thurry à present Harcourt, dans lequel il y aura un Bailly, un Lieutenant, un Procureur Fiscal, et le nombre

d'Officiers accoûtumez pour rendre la Justice, sans qu'en consequence de la presente érection à défauts d'hoirs mâles de nôtredit Cousin le Duc de Harcourt ou de ses décendans, ledit Duché puisse être par Nous ou par les Rois nos successeurs, réuni à la Couronne en consequence des Edits et Déclarations des années 1566. 1579. 1582. et autres faits sur l'érection des Duchés, de la rigueur desquels Edits et Déclarations Nous avons dispensé et dispensons ledit Duché; mais à la charge qu'à défaut de successions mâles en ligne directe, et en loyal Mariage de nôtredit Cousin le Duc de Harcourt, ledit Duché retournera à sa premiere nature, titre et qualité. SI DONNONS EN MANDEMENT à nos amez et feaux Conseillers les Gens tenans nos Cours de Parlement et Chambres de nos Comptes à Paris et à Rouen, et à tous autres nos Officiers et Justiciers qu'il apartiendra chacun en droit soy, qu'ils ayent à registrer ces Presentes, et du contenu en icelles faire joüir et user nôtredit Cousin le Duc de Harcourt, et ses enfans et decendans mâles en loyal mariage, pleinement, paisiblement et perpetuellement, cessant et faisant cesser tous troubles et empêchemens, nonobstant tous Edits, Déclarations, Réglemens et autres choses à ce contraires, ausquels, et aux dérogatoires des dérogatoires y contenus, Nous avons dérogé et dérogeons par cesdites Presentes: CAR TEL EST NÔTRE PLAISIR. Et afin que ce soit

chose ferme et stable à toûjours, Nous avons fait mettre nôtre Scel à cesdites Presentes, sauf en autre chose nôtre droit, et l'autruy en toutes. Donne à Versailles au mois de Novembre l'an de grace mil sept cens, et de nôtre Régne le cinquante-huitième. Signé, LOUIS; Et plus bas, Par le Roy. Signé, Colbert avec gril et paraphe, Visa Phelypeaux. Et scellé du grand Sceau de cire verte.

"Registrez és Registres de la Chambre des Comptes de Normandie, ce consentant le Procureur Général du Roy. Fait le deuxiéme d'Aoust mil sept cens un."

# Summons to Kord Harcourt to attend the Coronation of George the First.

"EORGE R.a,—Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the
20th day of this instant October, is appointed for
the Royal Solemnity of our Coronation; These
are to will and command you (all excuses apart)
to make your personal attendance on Us at the
time above mentioned, furnished and appointed
as your Rank and Quality appertaineth, there to
do and perform all such services as shall be required and belong unto you. Where of you are
not to fail. And so we bid you most heartily
Farewel.

"Given at our Court at  $S^t$ . James's, the  $6^{th}$  day of October, 1714, in the first year of our Reign.

"By his Ma'ties command,

"SUFFOLK M."

<sup>\*</sup> George R. is in the King's handwriting, the body of the paper is written by a secretary. Suffolk M. is written by Lord Suffolk.

"My LORD,—In Pursuance of an order in Council, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> Instant, your Lordship is forthwith desired to send me word, whether you can give your attendance on the King at his Coronation, or not; and whether the Lady Harcourt, your wife, will come (as a spectator only;) to the end that Room may be better provided, both in Westminster Hall and the Abbey, for such as shall be present.

"I am, My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most humble and
obedient Servant,
"SUFFOLK, M.

"Suffolk-street, Oct. 7, 1714.
"To the Right Hon<sup>ne</sup> the Lord Harcourt
"For his Maties. Service, These<sup>b</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> The whole of this paper is printed.

END OF VOL. II.

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